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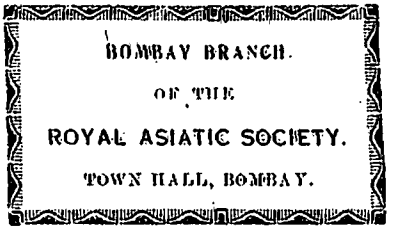

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Labour Office
Government of Bombay

Report

on an

Enquiry into Wages, Hours of Work and Conditions of Employment in the Retail Trade of some Towns of the Bombay Presidency

Prepared by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay

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INTRODUCTORY

The present enquiry has its origin in the decision of the Bombay Legislative Council to circulate for opinion Mr. R. R. Bakhale's bill to prohibit the employment of children and to limit the hours of work of young persons in shops and to provide for their early closing. This bill was introduced into the Legislative Council during the July 1935 session and the Government of Bombay while not opposing first reading were of opinion that it was essential to be in possession of definite information relating to the conditions of work and wages of shop employees before they could formulate any views on the subject. Government therefore instructed the Commissioner of Labour to conduct an enquiry for the information of Government and the Legislative Council.

A preliminary examination showed that very little information on the subject was available even on such obvious matters as the total number of retail shops in Bombay City. Discussions with municipal officers and representatives of trade associations soon made it obvious that an enquiry into the conditions of work and wages of shop assistants, if it were to yield useful and reliable results, would have to be elaborate and comprehensive. A field investigation was essential and Government sanctioned additional investigational and clerical staff for the purpose. It has been the experience of the Labour Office that women investigators meet with better success than male investigators in straightforward enquiries conducted by the "interview" method. Accordingly, therefore, a temporary lady investigator was engaged, giving, with the permanent investigators of the Labour Office, a staff of four women to whom the field work in connection with this enquiry was entrusted. It was felt, however, that it was not proper to ask the women investigators to visit certain localities in Bombay City and also certain types of shops and a male investigator was appointed, specially to cover such places. An Assistant Commissioner of Labour was placed in charge of the enquiry.

When the enquiry was being planned, the estimate of the total number of shops in Bombay City which the Labour Office had received was about twenty thousand. In the time at its disposal and with the staff at its command, it was

impossible to cover all the shops in the city nor was it necessary to do so in view of the fact that experience shows that when dealing with large numbers a suitable statistical sample yields reliable results. The aim of the Labour Office, therefore, was to cover about two thousand shops in Bombay City or 10 per cent. of the total. Actually, as will be seen later on, the number of shops covered was very much larger. Accordingly, a schedule was drafted which is printed as Appendix A. The investigators in charge of the enquiry were asked first to take a rapid survey of the shopping localities in Bombay City. Thereafter, for the first few days, one main road was allotted to each of them and as experience was gathered, the investigations were extended to the interior of the city so as to get an idea of the conditions of work in all types of retail shops.

The period covered by the enquiry was about four months from the middle of August 1935 to the middle of December 1935.

Method of Enquiry.

The method followed for the enquiry was the sampling method and the sample taken was of one out of every five. The enquiry was conducted simultaneously in all the wards of the city by the different investigators. Care was taken to cover all the predominantly shopping areas as also as many of the side streets and by-lanes as possible in order to achieve a fair and representative sample of the conditions in Bombay shops.

The method followed in the collection of data for liquor shops was slightly different. Unlike other shops a detailed record of such shops was available in the office of the Commissioner of Excise. Through the courtesy of this officer and his subordinates arrangements were made for the Labour Office investigator to visit about 150 such shops. The selection of these shops was made in such a way as to give an accurate picture of the conditions prevailing in all of them. The reason for not covering all the liquor shops was that they are spread throughout the length and breadth of the city and the time at the disposal of the Labour Office would not have permitted of such a course. Even so, the sample taken in the case of liquor and toddy shops is very much larger than in the case of other retail shops.

The following table classifies the shops covered by the enquiry according to Municipal wards :—

Wards	Number of shops covered.
A	315
B	272
C	1,035
D	778
E	292
F	351
G	463
Total for all wards ..	3,506

An attempt was made to obtain from the Municipality an estimate of the total number of shops in the city. The Municipality did not possess this information but its officers were good enough to compile specially for the Labour Office a list of non-residential tenements so as to give a rough indication of the maximum number of shops in the city. When this had been compiled it was found that the estimate of 20,000 shops had been doubled. Such tenements, according to the Municipality, number about 40,000. As, however, some of these would be vacant and in some cases one shop may have rented more than one tenement the total number of shops in the city cannot exceed 40,000 and is probably considerably less. Thus, it will be seen that the sample achieved in the present enquiry is about 10 per cent. of the total.

The C and D wards are undoubtedly the most thickly crowded retail shop centres and naturally therefore a larger number of schedules was collected for these wards than the others.

Discussion of the Questionnaire.

The questionnaire contains 17 questions and a schedule for recording wages data. In drafting the questionnaire the object aimed at was to get as complete a picture as possible of the conditions of work and wages of shop assistants and to collect information on all such points as would be relevant to a proper consideration of Mr. Bakhale's Bill. Information regarding wages, though not strictly relevant to the present enquiry, was collected in order to ascertain whether there was for shop assistants, for the longer hours which they were reported to be working, any compensation in the form of higher wages or other amenities as compared to other types of workers. One of the questions in the questionnaire asked for

the shopowner's opinion about the Bill. When the question was drafted, the Labour Office was fully aware that the replies to it would not be very satisfactory for various reasons and the results show this. Of the 3,506 shops covered, in the case of 1,424 or 40·6 per cent. no reliable information could be obtained on this point from the shopowners. Only in 2,082 or 59·4 per cent. of the cases did the shopowners express themselves on the subject. A tabulation of the information received shows that of those who gave opinion on this point, 69·7 per cent. were in favour of the Bill either partially or wholly, 11·7 per cent. were opposed to it and 18·6 per cent. were indifferent. Much reliance cannot however be placed on these figures because it is too much to expect that the average shopkeeper would be in a position to express a considered opinion on such an important measure during the brief visit of an unknown investigator. The most marked unanimity in opposition came from the liquor and toddy trade.

Another question in the questionnaire on which the information received was not very satisfactory was about busy hours and days. Most of the shopkeepers could only furnish very vague and irrelevant answers to this question. As certain provisions in Mr. Bakhale's Bill do not apply to shops run either by the owners themselves or with the assistance of relatives residing with them, a question had to be put in the questionnaire asking for separate information for different categories of workers in each shop. In the schedule of wages the information collected did not always relate to single individuals as, for instance in the general wage census conducted by the Bombay Labour Office, but where two or more persons were in receipt of the same pay, they were shown together.

Enquiries in other Cities.

Sub-section (3) of section 1 of Mr. Bakhale's Bill says that the Bill shall come into operation in the first instance in Bombay, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Poona and Hubli. Owing to the impending separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency, no enquiry into the conditions of work and wages in retail shops was conducted at Karachi. In recent years Ahmedabad has grown very considerably and its population in 1932 was 4,20,000. It was not possible owing to want of staff, to conduct an elaborate investigation in Ahmedabad City on the same lines as in Bombay ; but Mr. A. S. Iyengar,

Labour Officer at Ahmedabad, was asked to collect information by interviewing heads of trades associations and also by visiting shops of various types. Mr. Iyengar visited over a hundred shops and had numerous interviews with representatives of trades associations and certain types of workers as well. In order to ascertain the workers' point of view, Mr. Iyengar also attended a few meetings of the workers' union. The section dealing with Ahmedabad is based on the information supplied by him.

As regards Poona, Sholapur and Hubli, here again, owing to want of staff no elaborate investigation could be made. The Collectors for these three areas as also the Presidents of the municipalities were requested to supply the necessary information. Except in the case of Hubli, the other municipalities were not able to furnish the information. Two of the lady investigators of the Labour Office were therefore deputed to pay a brief visit to these centres after the completion of the enquiry in Bombay City. They visited a few shops belonging to each of the different categories and submitted their reports. The sections dealing with Poona, Sholapur and Hubli are based on the reports of these investigators supplemented to some extent by the information supplied by the Collectors and, in the case of Hubli, by the Hubli municipality.

CHAPTER I.

THE RETAIL TRADE AND ITS ORGANISATION.

Retail trade is defined in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences* as "that phase of general commerce devoted to the distribution and sale of goods to ultimate consumers". It is probably one of the oldest forms of trade and perhaps the most widespread, and has, like other human activities, undergone many changes during the past few centuries.

Not only has the status of the shopkeeper altered but the character of the trade itself has undergone immense changes. The moving pedlar and the periodic fair gradually made room for the permanent retail shop which, in the West, reached the peak of its development in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The small speciality shop was essentially a product of these times and it continues to hold a predominant position in retail distribution throughout the world to the present day. Apart from this type of shop, however, there have been far-reaching developments in the organisation of the retail trade due to the emergence of large-scale retail trading in the form of departmental stores, mail order retail trade, the multiple store etc. None of these forms have, however, made much headway in this country although in recent years the retail trade of Bombay City has not remained unaffected by modern ideas and modern developments. Prominent among the changes in the retail trade of the city are the practice of supplying meals by Hindu restaurants, the combination of cloth and tailoring shops, the combination of grocery and provisions, and the emergence of the readymade clothes shop.

Number of shops covered.

The growth of retail trade in Bombay is also reflected in the large variety of shops to be found in the City. The 3,506 shops covered by the enquiry comprise such a large variety of different types of shops that unless they were combined into analogous groups, it would be impossible to draw deductions of any value. The shops covered by the enquiry have therefore been grouped under 17 different categories. The following table shows the number of shops in each of these categories together with the percentage they form of the total:

Type of Shop.	Number visited.	Percentage to total.
Grocery, Provisions, etc.	536	15·29
Cloth and Clothing	480	13·69
Restaurants	314	8·96
Bidis and Pansupari	282	8·04
Milk and Sweetmeats	182	5·19
Tailoring	180	5·13
Metals and Hardware	165	4·71
Liquor and Toddy etc.	156	4·45
Charcoal and Firewood	117	3·34
Vegetables and Fruit	103	2·94
Leather Goods	89	2·54
Gold and Silverware	80	2·28
Cycle, Motor spare parts, Electric wares etc. ..	74	2·11
Books and Stationery etc.	60	1·71
Laundries	57	1·62
Chemicals	48	1·37
Miscellaneous	583	16·63
Total ..	3,506	100·00

As the present enquiry did not cover every area in the city it cannot be definitely stated that the proportions between the different categories of shops *inter se* revealed by the above table are the proportions in which shops of different types are distributed in the city of Bombay. However, as most of the important shopping localities were covered by the enquiry and a uniform sampling method was adhered to throughout, it can safely be stated that the shops belonging to the first three or four categories in the table are the most numerous in Bombay. The miscellaneous group, which accounts for the largest number of shops, consists of over 60 different types of shops.

Categories of Shops.

Quite a fair proportion of shops in Bombay are "one-man" shops *i.e.*, they are owned and managed by the proprietor himself. In 13·78 per cent. of the cases covered by the enquiry that was found to be the case. In a large majority or 65·09 per cent. of the cases, the shops were run by owners and shop assistants, in 6·42 per cent. of the cases by owners, relatives and shop assistants and in 4·93 per cent. of the cases by owners and relatives only. The following table gives the details according to different categories of shop :—

Type of Shop.	Number of Shops run by				
	Owners only.	Owners and relatives only.	Owners, relatives and shop assistants.	Owners and shop assistants.	Other cases.
Grocery and Provision ..	82 (15·30)	40 (7·46)	29 (5·41)	364 (67·91)	21 (3·92)
Cloth and Clothing ..	60 (12·50)	12 (2·50)	20 (4·17)	360 (75·00)	28 (5·83)
Restaurants	8 (2·55)	3 (0·96)	37 (11·78)	229 (72·93)	37 (11·78)
Bidi and Pansupari ..	40 (14·19)	7 (2·48)	9 (3·19)	145 (51·42)	81 (28·72)
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	29 (15·94)	14 (7·69)	11 (6·04)	112 (61·54)	16 (8·79)
Tailoring	45 (25·00)	13 (7·22)	12 (6·67)	106 (58·89)	4 (2·22)
Metals and Hardware ..	24 (14·55)	12 (7·27)	8 (4·85)	112 (67·88)	9 (5·45)
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	1 (0·64)	.. ..	25 (16·03)	52 (33·33)	78 (50·00)
Charcoal and Firewood ..	6 (5·13)	3 (2·56)	4 (3·41)	89 (76·08)	15 (12·82)
Vegetables and Fruit ..	23 (22·33)	8 (7·77)	1 (0·97)	68 (66·02)	3 (2·91)
Leather Goods	18 (20·22)	7 (7·87)	2 (2·25)	61 (68·54)	1 (1·12)
Gold and Silver ware ..	7 (8·75)	5 (6·25)	7 (8·75)	58 (72·50)	3 (3·75)
Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric ware etc. ..	8 (10·81)	4 (5·41)	10 (13·51)	49 (66·22)	3 (4·05)
Books and Stationery ..	8 (13·33)	7 (11·67)	6 (10·00)	38 (63·33)	1 (1·67)
Laundries	1 (1·75)	.. ..	8 (14·04)	43 (75·44)	5 (8·77)
Chemicals	7 (14·58)	1 (2·08)	5 (10·42)	31 (64·59)	4 (8·33)
Miscellaneous	116 (19·90)	37 (6·35)	31 (5·32)	365 (62·61)	34 (5·82)
Total ..	483 (13·78)	173 (4·93)	225 (6·42)	2,282 (65·09)	343 (9·78)

Figures in brackets are percentages.

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An interesting point emerging from this table is the large variation in the percentage of "one-man" shops as between the different categories of shops. The two extremes may be noted here. In tailoring shops, in 25 per cent. of the cases the owners both own and manage the shop, while in the case of liquor and toddy shops the percentage of such shops was only 0·64. It requires but little capital to start a tailor's shop and many tailors when they start on their own account are content to start with no assistants except perhaps a relative. Excise license holders are in an entirely different category. Of the 156 liquor, toddy, ganja, bhang etc. shops covered, in only one case was it reported that the owner alone ran the shop. The explanation of this is that licensed shops require a good deal of capital and the trade is in comparatively few hands. Moreover, as business in liquor shops is usually restricted to two or three hours in the evening it becomes necessary for the owner to have assistants to deal with customers. A good many *pan* and *bidi* shops, restaurants and liquor shops were run by assistants only, a few liquor shops being run by relatives and assistants.

Personnel of Shops.

As table I in appendix B shows 15,008 persons were working in the 3,506 shops covered by the enquiry. Of these, 4,171 or 27·79 per cent. were owners or partners, 625 or 4·16 per cent. relatives and 10,212 or 68·05 per cent. shop assistants. The average number of persons per shop comes to 4·28 of whom 1·19 are owners or partners, 0·18 relatives and 2·91 paid assistants. The average number of persons per restaurant is the highest being 8·48, the category next in importance being chemists' shops which have 6·75 persons per shop. The lowest average is to be found in charcoal and firewood shops which have 2·36 persons per shop.

Of the 4,171 owners or partners, 58 were females of whom 25 were either owners or partners in *bidi* and *pansupari* shops. It is interesting to note that while in most of the categories of retail shops there is at least one owner or partner looking after the shop, in the case of some categories like *pan* and *bidi* shops and liquor, toddy, etc., shops the average distribution of owners per shop is less than one. An explanation of this is to be found in the character of the ownership in these categories. Many *bidi* shops are owned by women who leave the management of the shops entirely to their relatives or assistants. In many cases the Parsi owners of liquor and toddy shops similarly entrust the management of the shop entirely to their assistants.

In view of the proposed exclusion of shops run by the owner and his relatives, maintained by him and living with him, from certain provisions of the Bill, it is interesting to note the very small number

of relatives of all types employed in the shops covered by the enquiry. Only in 178 shops were relatives employed to the exclusion of other paid assistants, and not all of them live with the owner or are maintained by him. Of the 625 relatives employed, only eight were under 12 years of age, 72 were between 12 and 18 and the rest (545) over 18 years of age. Relatives are to be predominantly seen in provision shops and liquor and toddy shops although as compared to the total labour force in shops they form a small percentage.

As regards paid assistants, 9,128 or 89·39 per cent., were over 18 years of age. It will be seen that apart from *bidi* shops, which employ a large number of women as *bidi* makers, there are few females employed as assistants in the ordinary retail shops in Bombay. Contrary to general expectation, there appears to be very little employment of children under 12 in the retail trade of Bombay City only 90 or 0·88 per cent. of the paid assistants covered by the enquiry being children under 12. It must however be borne in mind that the figures are based on the information supplied by shopkeepers, supplemented by the personal observation of the investigators and not on any age records, and it is therefore quite possible that a larger number of children are actually employed than is shown by these figures. Children are employed mostly in restaurants.

The number of assistants between 12 and 18 years of age was 959 or 9·39 per cent. of the total. Over 60 per cent. of these are also to be found in restaurants. Liquor and other shops included in that category are prohibited from employing persons under 18 years of age under the Excise Regulations. Although no such prohibition exists in regard to the employment of persons under 18 years of age in the case of other categories, they seem to favour the employment of adult labour. The following tables give the classification of relatives and shop assistants by age groups :—.

Classification of Relatives and Shop Assistants by Age Groups.

RESTAURANTS.

	Below 12.	12–18.	Over 18.	Total.
Relatives ..	....	7	59	66
		10·61	*89·39*	*100·00*
Paid assistants	74	611	1,562	2,247
	3·29	*27·19*	*69·52*	*100·00*

Classification of Relatives and Shop Assistants by Age Groups—contd.

SHOPS OTHER THAN RESTAURANTS.

——	Below 12.	12–18.	Over 18.	Age not stated.	Total.
Relatives	8 *1·43*	65 *11·63*	486 *86·94*	.. ..	559 *100·00*
Paid assistants	16 *0·20*	348 *4·37*	7,566 *94·99*	35 *0·44*	7,965 *100·00*

ALL SHOPS.

——	Below 12.	12–18.	Over 18.	Age not stated.	Total.
Relatives ..	8 *1·28*	72 *11·52*	545 *87·20*	.. ..	625 *100·00*
Paid assistants ..	90 *0·88*	959 *9·39*	9,128 *89·39*	35 *0·34*	10,212 *100·00*

A point of some interest which the above tables bring out is that while in restaurants there are comparatively few relatives between 12 and 18 as compared to paid assistants, in shops other than restaurants, the percentage of relatives in this age group is much higher than that of paid assistants.

SHOPS EMPLOYING ASSISTANTS.

While the table below suggests that the grocery and provision group is the most important from the point of view of the number of shops, a consideration of the various categories of shops according to the strength of numbers employed shows that restaurants are the most important, cloth and clothing coming next, with *bidi* and *pansupari* third, and grocery and provisions fourth. In fact, over one-fifth of the shop assistants covered by the enquiry are employed in restaurants, the average number per restaurant being 7·16. In the grocery and provision shops it is 1·66 only.

An analysis of shops employing assistants and not employing assistants shows that in 18·85 per cent. of the cases no assistants are employed while they are employed in 81·15 per cent. of the cases. Over 23 per cent. of the grocery and provision shops do not employ any paid assistants. Restaurants in which no paid assistants are employed are rare and the present enquiry revealed only 11 such cases. Liquor and toddy shops

almost invariably employ paid assistants and so do laundries. The details will be found in the following table :—

Number of Retail Shops employing and not employing Shop Assistants.

Type of shop.	Number of shops.			Percentage of shops.	
	Employing assistants.	Not employing assistants.	Total.	Employing assistants.	Not employing assistants.
Grocery and Provisions ..	412	124	536	76·87	23·13
Cloth and Clothing ..	408	72	480	85·00	15·00
Restaurants	303	11	314	96·50	3·50
Bidis and Pansupari ..	235	47	282	83·33	16·67
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	139	43	182	76·37	23·63
Tailoring	122	58	180	67·78	32·22
Metals and Hardware ..	129	36	165	78·18	21·82
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	155	1	156	99·36	0·64
Charcoal and firewood ..	108	9	117	92·30	7·70
Vegetables and Fruit ..	72	31	103	69·90	30·10
Leather Goods	64	25	89	71·91	28·09
Gold and Silver ware ..	67	13	80	83·75	16·25
Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric Wares, etc. ..	62	12	74	83·78	16·22
Books and Stationery ..	44	16	60	73·33	26·67
Laundries	56	1	57	98·25	1·75
Chemicals	40	8	48	83·33	16·67
Miscellaneous ..	429	154	583	73·58	26·42
Total ..	2,845	661	3,506	81·15	18·85

Number of Assistants per Shop.

It has already been stated that the average number of paid assistants per shop is 2·91. As the table below will show, in over 68 per cent. of the cases the number of shop assistants employed varies from one to three. The principal categories to employ four or more assistants were restaurants (67·33 per cent.), chemists' shops (50 per cent.), bidi and pansupari shops (48·94 per cent.) and liquor shops (45·81 per cent.). In 137 shops or 4·82 per cent. of the total number of shops employing assistants, there were over 11 assistants per shop. Sixty-two or 20·46 per cent. of the restaurants employed over 11 assistants seven employing thirty or more assistants.

Frequency Table showing the number of Assistants in different types of Retail Shops.

Type of shop.	Number of shops having the following number of assistants.											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 and over.	Total.
Grocery and Provision	172	127	63	27	9	6	3	1	1	1	2	412
Cloth and Clothing	112	92	64	49	26	22	15	8	2	6	12	408
Restaurants	25	39	35	39	26	23	20	15	8	11	62	303
Bidis and Pansupari	49	52	19	19	26	27	16	10	5	4	8	235
Milk and Sweetmeats	45	34	19	8	10	7	5	2	1	1	7	139
Tailoring	30	27	17	19	2	10	2	4	2	2	7	122
Metals and Hardware	46	38	24	8	3	6	..	2	..	..	2	129
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	7	43	34	25	15	7	5	3	2	4	10	155
Charcoal and Firewood	79	22	3	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	108
Vegetables and Fruit	49	17	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	72
Leather Goods	19	19	10	7	2	2	3	..	1	1	..	64
Gold and Silver ware	17	20	17	6	2	1	1	..	..	2	1	67
Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric Ware, etc.	10	20	10	6	2	3	2	4	1	..	4	62
Books and Stationery	19	8	8	2	1	2	..	..	2	..	2	44
Laundries	13	18	16	2	2	3	..	..	1	..	1	56
Chemicals	7	8	5	5	1	4	2	1	..	3	4	40
Miscellaneous	156	103	53	42	22	12	15	8	3	2	13	429
Total ..	855	687	399	266	150	136	90	58	30	37	137	2,845
Percentage to total ..	30·05	24·15	14·02	9·35	5·27	4·79	3·16	2·04	1·05	1·30	4·82	100·00

Communities of Shopowners and their Assistants.

Provision was made in the questionnaire for eliciting information regarding the community to which the shopowner and his assistants belonged. The information received on this point is of great interest and has been incorporated in tables II and III in appendix B. It shows that of the total number of shops, 53·28 per cent. were owned by Hindus, 9·18 per cent. by Jains, 17·94 per cent. by Muslims, 2·51 per cent. by Christians and 5·85 per cent. by Parsis and Iranis. In 11·15 per cent. of the cases, information was not available. The table shows that more than half of the retail trade of Bombay City is in the hands of Hindu shopkeepers, who are to be found owning almost every type of concern covered by the enquiry. The Jains, although they form only one per cent. of the total population of Bombay City, own nearly 42 per cent. of the grocery and provision shops. In the case of restaurants, side by side with the Hindus, the Iranis and the Muslims figure prominently, and so do the Christians to a certain extent in tailoring shops. The metal and hardware trade appears to be more in the hands of Muslims than Hindus, although here there is a certain degree of specialisation in that while the Hindus concentrate on the metal trade, the Muslims predominate in the cutlery and hardware trades. The liquor trade which consists of foreign and country liquor and toddy booths, ganja and bhang shops is in the hands more particularly of the Parsis although one-third of the shopowners are Hindus. Where the owner is a Hindu, it is mostly in the case of toddy, ganja and bhang shops. There are very few Hindu owners of foreign or country liquor shops. The Muslims seem to be well represented in both the charcoal and firewood trades and in the leather goods trade.

An analysis of the shop assistants also brings out certain interesting features. As table III in appendix B will show, 73·69 per cent. of the shop assistants are Hindus, 3·95 per cent. are Jains, 14·34 per cent. Muslims, 2·22 per cent. Parsis and Iranis, 4·45 per cent. Christians, and 0·07 per cent. others. The largest number of Hindu assistants are to be found in restaurants. In the shops covered by the enquiry there are over a thousand Hindu assistants in cloth and clothing shops, over two-thirds of whom are Gujaratis. The only category in which the Jain shop assistants are prominently to be found are grocery and provision shops. In restaurants covered by the enquiry over 400 Muslim assistants are employed, while in the cloth and clothing trade they are 218. There are only two categories of shops, namely, liquor and toddy and restaurants where Parsis and Iranis are seen to any considerable extent. Christians are prominently to be seen in tailoring and in refreshment rooms in the liquor and toddy group.

Table II in appendix B compared with table III shows that while only 53·28 per cent. of the Hindus are shopowners, 73·69 per cent. of them are shop assistants. In the case of Jains and Muslims the corresponding percentages are 9·18 and 3·95 and 17·94 and 14·34 respectively. In the case of Parsis, while 5·85 per cent. are owners, 2·22 per cent. are assistants, while in the case of Christains the percentage

of assistants is much larger than of owners, the percentages being 4·45 and 2·51 respectively. The following table which gives the percentages of ownership, employment and population according to communities may be of interest :—

Communities.	Percentage of		
	Population in Bombay City in 1931.	Owners of retail shops.	Assistants in retail shops.
Hindus	68·0	53·28	73·69
Muslims	18·0	17·94	14·34
Jains	1·0	9·18	3·95
Christians	7·0	2·51	4·45
Parsis and Iranis	5·0	5·85	2·22
Others	1·0	0·09	0·07
Imperfectly specified	....	11·15	1·28
Total ..	100·00	100·00	100·00

Recruitment.

In the absence of an accurate estimate of the total number of retail shops in Bombay City, it is difficult to arrive at an estimate of the total number of shop assistants employed in retail shops. Assuming that there are between 25,000 and 35,000 shops in the city, the number of shop assistants would be anywhere between 75,000 and 100,000.

The character of the labour force in retail shops is somewhat different from what it is in industrial establishments. For instance, while in the lower grades of work in industrial establishments the Jain, the Christian and the Parsi is almost conspicuous by his absence, that is not so in retail shops where the labour force is far more cosmopolitan in character. Besides this, in certain types of shops, particularly cloth and clothing, bars and refreshment rooms, jewellery shops, etc., the lower middle classes figure prominently among the salesmen.

A somewhat striking feature of employment in retail shops is that certain trades are run by shop assistants belonging to certain communities. For instance, in Hindu restaurants owned by Kanarese owners, the bulk of the assistants, excepting menials, hail from Kanara. In grain shops owned by Jains, the labour force mostly hails from Cutch. In the majority of cloth shops the owners are Gujarati Bhatias and the employees are in most cases Gujaratis. Tailoring shops which are managed by Hindus have sometimes a sprinkling of Christians, particularly in the capacity of cutters, but otherwise the assistants are mostly Hindus. In most categories of shops the cooly type of work is done by Hindus. In Hindu restaurants, among the waiters, there is to be found a certain proportion of high caste persons like Brahmins. Except in the case of Cutchi grain shops and the restaurants owned by *Saraswats*, the bulk of the labour force employed in shops is recruited locally.

Organisation.

The section dealing with Ahmedabad shows that retail trade in that city is highly organised and that with the exception of restaurants, almost every retail trade has its trade organisation or *Mahajan*. This is not the case, however, in Bombay where only a few trades such as clothing, hardware, chemists and grain dealers are organised to a certain extent. These organisations do not regulate the conditions of work or wages of their employees but are mainly concerned with disputes arising between their members and certain other matters such as the closure of shops on certain days. The membership of the Bombay Grain Dealers' Association is composed of grain dealers and of retailers in the grocery trade dealing in foodgrains. The membership is further divided into various local groups called *bazars* in different localities, each bazar having its own headman or *patel*. The function of these bazars is mainly to decide which shops should remain open on days of closure like the *Amavasya* day when only a few shops in the bazar are kept open for the convenience of the public. The Chemists' Association have a rule which requires that its members shall close their shops for half a day on every Sunday.

Since the publication of Mr. Bakhale's Bill there has come into existence an association of retailers called the *Nyayya Hakka Sanrakshak Sabha* which claims a membership of over 100 distributed over all the retail trades in the city. Similar other organisations have also sprung up presumably for the purpose of voicing the opinion of retail shopowners on the provisions of the Bill.

Shop assistants also who until very recently were unorganised have formed associations like the Bombay Shop Workers' Union, the Hair Cutting Saloon Employees' Union, etc. with the object of representing their grievances before the legislature and the public. The membership of these associations does not however appear to be very large.

CHAPTER II.

HOURS OF WORK.

The shop assistant, although regarded as a salaried employee and having something of the status of commercial employees, is, probably so far as the length of the working day is concerned, very much worse off than they are. The factory worker is definitely better off. Indeed, as the New Survey of London Life and Labour points out " the long hours associated with retail distribution go far to nullify the supposed advantages of higher status in many parents' eyes, as compared with life in factories of the better class ". These longer hours arise out of the nature of the shop assistant's occupation. The distinctive feature of retail trade is the distribution of goods and services to the ultimate consumer and the hours of work of the employees usually have to conform to what are supposed to be the needs and convenience of the general public. These may of course differ widely according to the shopping habits of the people and their industrial and social organisation. In Bombay, the difference between the hours of work of commercial employees and shop assistants is considerable, shop assistants having to work on an average 12·25 hours per day, excluding meal intervals, as against seven to eight hours, inclusive of the luncheon interval, put in by employees in offices and banks although longer hours are not uncommon in some commercial offices. Under the Factories Act, the maximum weekly hours of work are 54 per week—usually nine per day—for workers in perennial factories.

The hours of work of shop assistants in Bombay appear to compare unfavourably even with those of workers employed in unregulated factories in the city. According to an enquiry recently conducted by the Labour Office, the daily hours of work in nearly 80 per cent. of the 252 unregulated factories covered by the enquiry were less than 10. Nearly 80 per cent. of the 10,212 shop employees covered by this enquiry were, however, required to work 10 or more hours per day, over 1,300 having to work no fewer than 15 hours. Table IV in appendix B gives the frequencies of the hours of work for assistants in the various categories of shops covered by the enquiry. It will be seen from the table that there is a fairly even distribution in the four frequency groups between 9 to 10 hours and 12 to 13 hours, although the largest individual concentration is to be found in the group 11 to 12 hours. Numerous cases were, however, reported in which the hours of work were in excess of 13 per day. In some of these they were as many as 19. These long hours relate mostly to restaurants and the grocery, bidi, milk and vegetable shops. In spite of the longer hours in these concerns, however, in the case of about 55 per cent. of the assistants the daily hours of work amounted to less than 12, with the result that the average for all assistants comes to 12·25 hours, exclusive of intervals for meals. In no class of business were the average hours of work found to be less than 10. The following table shows the average daily hours of work of all

shop assistants and the predominant range of hours in retail trades exclusive of rest intervals :—

Type of shop.	Number of assistants.	Average daily hours of work.	Range of daily hours of work of great majority of assistants.
1. Grocery and Provisions	888	13·54	12 to 15
2. Cloth and Clothing	1,377	11·39	10 to 13
3. Restaurants	2,247	13·14	10 to 15
4. Bidi and Pansupari	1,009	14·47	9 to 16
5. Milk and Sweetmeats	472	13·75	11 to 16
6. Tailoring	494	10·40	9 to 11
7. Metals and Hardware	325	11·78	10 to 12
8. Liquor, Toddy, etc.	679	10·62	9 to 13
9. Charcoal and Firewood	155	12·13	11 to 14
10. Vegetables and Fruit	124	14·51	15 to 16
11. Leather Goods	177	11·29	11 to 13
12. Gold and Silver ware ..	190	11·10	9 to 12
13. Cycle, Motor spare parts, Electric ware, etc.	255	10·36	8 to 12
14. Books and Stationery	132	10·24	10 to 12
15. Laundries	154	11·40	10 to 13
16. Chemicals	247	10·68	8 to 12
17. Miscellaneous	1,287	11·45	9 to 12
All shops ..	10,212	12·25	9 to 13

Two facts emerge prominently from a study of this table. In the first place there is a wide disparity in the hours of work even in shops of the same class. Secondly, the hours of work in shops dealing in foodstuffs or similar articles are on the whole considerably longer than those worked in other shops.

The longer hours in food shops are explained by the fact that the goods they handle are of daily requirement and, in many cases, of a perishable nature. The longest average daily hours, namely 14·51, are worked in vegetable and fruit shops, over 54 per cent. of the employees having to work between 15 and 16 hours. The long hours in this trade are undoubtedly due to a large extent to its organisation. As is well known, Bombay receives her supply of vegetables and fruits from upcountry and the parcels received are generally delivered and unpacked very early in the morning. The assistants have not only to attend to the purchase or receipt of goods but thereafter to arrange to carry them to the shops and arrange them before the sales actually begin. The demand for vegetables is also generally confined to the early morning hours and evenings, when workers in offices and factories purchase their supplies either for that day or the next. During the day the assistants in these shops enjoy a considerable amount of leisure, although they have to be present in the shops to attend to any stray customer that may come along.

In the grocery and provision shops, which employ a large number of assistants, the range of daily hours of the great majority of assistants is 12 to 15, the average daily hours of work being 13·54. The comparatively longer hours in shops in this group are due mainly to two causes. In the first place, the articles they sell are of daily consumption and are often purchased daily by the poorer classes. Secondly, in the large majority of grain shops owned by the Cutchi community the owner and assistants live on the shop premises, the shop thereby automatically remaining open for business for long hours. In this connection it is important to note also that a considerable number of grain shop owners, especially in the working class localities, do business as money-lenders and this business often extends far into the night. During the day when there is little custom, the shop assistants are usually busy husking the grain and unloading the bags that may be received from the wholesale markets. Shop assistants in grain shops have a variety of duties to perform, including sometimes the purchase of goods in the market, delivery of goods to customers, the writing of account books, collection of bills and even occasionally cooking for the inmates of the shop including the owner where, as in Cutchi shops, they board and lodge together.

In the milk and sweetmeat shops the average daily hours of work of assistants are 13·75, the large majority of them having to work from 11 to 16 hours every day. The wide difference between the minimum and maximum hours of work in these shops is due to the combination of different types of shops included in this category. For instance, shops selling raw milk open early and also close early. Shops in which boiled milk and sweetmeats are sold are often kept open till late in the night. In recent years there have also come into prominence in Bombay City shops which sell flavoured milk and pure sweets with a view to providing the public with a substitute for tea and the cheap and unhygienic refreshments often served by the common restaurant. The hours of work in these shops are often as long as in the restaurants.

The great majority of assistants in restaurants, which employ the largest number of shop assistants, have to work between 10 and 15 hours per day, the average for all being 13·14. The hours during which restaurants may remain open are determined by the Bombay City Police Regulations which require any place of entertainment—which includes restaurants and eating houses—opening before 5-30 in the morning or kept open after 9-30 p.m. to obtain a special license from the police. The usual hour up to which they are allowed to remain open is 12-30 a.m., extension of closing time beyond that hour being granted only if the Commissioner is satisfied that they are for the convenience of people following their lawful avocations. Only thirteen such special licenses were granted in Bombay during the year 1935. So far as the length of the shop assistant's working day is concerned, the hours are longest in petty restaurants which are not in a position to employ many assistants and yet cannot afford to lose a customer whenever he may roll up. In some of the larger restaurants, where the " turn " or shift system obtains, the hours of work of assistants are shorter than in the smaller restaurants.

Taken as a whole, however, the percentage of shop assistants in restaurants working 15 hours or more per day is very much higher than in other types of shops, except *bidi* and *pansupari*, milk and sweetmeats and vegetables and fruit shops, being 22·1 per cent. of the total number employed in restaurants. Extreme instances of prolonged hours supplied by individual restaurants suggest that these may be as long as 18½ per day.

The resemblance, both as regards the range of daily hours of the great majority of assistants and the average hours of work, between restaurants and *pan-bidi* shops is not purely accidental. Except perhaps in the case of Irani restaurants, almost all restaurants have either attached to them or in close proximity a pan shop or a pan-bidi shop which draws its custom from those who visit the restaurant. For a little stall in front of the restaurant, very often fancy rents are paid to the keeper of the restaurant because the stall holder expects that almost every customer who has entered the restaurant will not leave it without patronizing him. Naturally, therefore, the hours of work of the restaurant determine the hours of work of the pan or pan-bidi shops. Bidi shops, like restaurants, are also subject to a license although in their case it is issued by the Excise Department. This license permits bidi shops to remain open between 4 a.m. and 1 o'clock at night, a range of 21 hours. Most of the shops, however, are usually open between 5 a.m. and 12-30 a.m., although there are a few cases in which they were reported to be open for longer hours.

Like the bidi shops, liquor and toddy shops and shops selling opium and other intoxicants require a license from the Excise Department. Under this license, the hours during which such shops can remain open are regulated and there is a penalty for an infringement of the regulations. The hours during which the various kinds of shops included in this category are permitted to remain open are as follows: In the case of refreshment rooms, 10–30 a.m. to 11 p.m.; in the case of "on" and "off" foreign liquor shops and country liquor shops, 10-30 a.m. to 9 p.m.; and in the case of toddy shops, tree-foot booths, ganja, bhang and opium shops, 6-30 a.m. to 9 p.m. A tabulation of the hours of work of shop assistants in these shops shows that the range of daily hours of work of the great majority of assistants is 9 to 13, the average hours of work being 10·62. The busiest hours in liquor and toddy shops are reported to be between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. after the factories and mills in the city have closed.

The average daily hours of work of assistants in shops not dealing in foodstuffs or allied articles range between 10 and 11½, the only exception being hardware and firewood and charcoal shops. These latter, however, like food shops, deal in articles which are daily in demand and have to open early to satisfy the requirements of their customers. Except in very rare instances there are no shop assistants as such in these depôts, the workers employed being generally labourers. They are engaged in various occupations such as the chopping of wood, stacking and piling of wood and delivering wood and charcoal to customers. The range of daily hours of these workers is between 11 and 14, the average hours of work

being 12·13. The busy hours for such depôts are during the morning and in the afternoons.

Among the non-food groups, cloth and clothing is the most important from the point of view of the number of shop assistants employed. The hours worked in cloth and clothing shops bear out the observation made earlier that the hours are the longest in shops providing the daily necessaries of life while they are not so long in the case of shops which sell articles which are not either of daily use or of urgent necessity. The range of daily hours of work of a large majority of assistants, forming nearly 80 per cent. of the total number employed in this class of business, is 10 to 13 hours, the average being 11·39. Actually in the case of no fewer than 576 or 41·8 per cent. the hours are between 11 and 12. Cloth and clothing shops, excluding those situated in the Moolji Jetha Market, have a busy time from 8 to 10 in the morning and again from 5 to 8 or 8–30 in the evening, these being ordinarily the hours when most people are free to devote themselves to shopping. In the Moolji Jetha Market, where the customers are mainly either local merchants or up-country clients, the afternoons are more busy than either the mornings or evenings.

Chemists' shops do not open till after 7 o'clock in the morning and generally close much before 10 p.m. except in the case of those which remain open all night. With the exception of cycle and motor spare parts shops, chemists' and druggists' shops have perhaps the lowest minimum in the range of daily hours which is from 8 to 12. The average hours of work of shop assistants in chemists' and druggists' shops is 10·68.

In view of the small numbers they employ the other groups of shops, except perhaps tailoring, do not call for comment. Surprisingly enough, hours in the tailoring trade which in England, before legislation, was regarded as the worst example of a sweated industry, provides in Bombay an example at the other end of the scale. The range of daily hours is only 9 to 11 and is comparatively lower than in many other categories of shops considered. The fact that the hours of work are comparatively low does not, however, necessarily mean that assistants in these shops have the least amount of work to do. Quite the contrary. In tailoring shops, there is a steady flow of work throughout the day, which may be the reason why the hours of work of shop assistants in these establishments are lower than those prevailing in other types of shops.

Of the categories included in the miscellaneous group, the only class of business that requires special mention is hair dressing saloons. A large majority of these open at 7 a.m. but instances are not wanting of saloons opening as early as 5-30 in the morning. The usual closing hour is between 9 and 10 p.m. The averge daily hours of work of assistants in these saloons are 12·90, but the assistants are more or less free from about 10 a.m. on week days and 12 or 12-30 on Sundays and holidays to about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The morning hours are usually

the busiest, when assistants have to attend to customers almost without a break.

Hours of Opening and Closing.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the deciding factor in regard to hours of work of shop assistants is primarily the hour at which shops open and close. Even here, however, there is a complete absence of any regulation by trade organisations, the matter being left entirely to the choice of the individual shop-keepers. The result is that the same diversity of practice as is found in regard to hours of work is noticeable as regards the opening and closing hours of shops in the same trade throughout the city. It would appear, however, that the various classes of business do, as a rule, tend to adjust their hours of opening and closing according to the localities in which they are situated, the needs of the public they serve and the nature of the demand for their goods. Thus, while food and pan and bidi shops are generally open by 7 o'clock in the morning, a large majority of shops dealing in cloth and other goods not in daily demand or of urgent necessity open between 8 and 9 a.m.

Tables V and VI in appendix B give the hours of opening and closing of the different types of shops covered by the enquiry. A study of the first table will show that 61·46 per cent. of the shops open before 8 o'clock in the morning. This early opening of a large majority of shops, especially in the food group, is due to the early rising habits of Indians fostered by climate, religion, customs and the organisation of the daily routine. By 9 a.m. or shortly after that hour 95 per cent. of the shops are open, the majority of shops opening between 6 and 9 a.m. It is interesting to note in this connection that a similar investigation made in the City of London showed that while out of 405 shops covered by the enquiry only 2·3 per cent. opened after 9 a.m. the most common opening hour there was between 8 and 9 a.m.

A study of the individual categories of shops shows that although a few milk shops are the first to open, it is the vegetable and fruit shops that open before 5 a.m. in large numbers. As has been explained before, this is due to several reasons, the principal one being the necessity of receiving supplies coming from up-country. This also explains partly the very early opening of shops in the milk trade. In the case of this trade, however, it is also due to the necessity of delivering milk early in the morning to customers, especially restaurants which open usually between 5-30 and 6 a.m. Bidi shops are permitted to open after 4 a.m., but for reasons already explained pan and bidi shops tend to follow the hours of restaurants in their vicinity and open mostly between 5 and 7 in the morning.

Nearly 60 per cent. of the grocery and provision shops open between 6 and 7 a.m., during which hour 38·46 per cent. of the shops included in the liquor group are also opened. As has been already pointed out these latter are toddy shops, tree-foot booths and ganja, bhang and opium shops. Nearly half of the charcoal and firewood shops open between 6 and 7 a.m. and the other half between 7 and 8 a.m. The

important categories of shops which open between 8 and 9 a.m. are cloth and clothing, tailoring, metals and hardware, leather goods, jewellery, cycle and motor spare parts, and books and stationery shops and chemists' and druggists' stores. Sixty per cent. of the cloth shops open during this hour and very nearly the same percentage of tailoring and hardware shops. Few shops open after 9 a.m., a large proportion of these being liquor shops opening at 10-30 a.m. according to the excise rules. Others to open very late, that is, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon are a few cloth shops, slightly over 22 per cent. of shops dealing in leather goods, 17 per cent. of jewellery shops, 40 per cent. of cycle and motor spare parts shops and a little over 18 per cent. of chemists' and druggists' stores. The enquiry showed that there were a few instances in which opening of the shop was delayed as late in the evening as 5 p.m. Such cases were, however, extremely few and need not be considered here.

As regards the hour of closing there is almost an equal concentration between the hours of 8 and 9 p.m. and 9 and 10 p.m., over 57 per cent., of the shops closing between 8 and 10 p.m. It is interesting to note that while only 328 or 9·36 per cent. of the shops were reported to close before 8 p.m. in Bombay, nearly 96 per cent. of the 405 shops in the City of London covered by the enquiry referred to before were closed by 8 o'clock in the evening.

Of the 1,040 shops that close between 9 and 10 p.m., actually over 75 per cent. close at the hour of nine or very shortly after that. Thus in actual practice nearly 60 per cent. of the total shops in the city close at or about 9 p.m. Of the 1,166 shops or 33·26 per cent. of the total which remain open after 10 p.m., 498 or 14·20 per cent., are restaurants and *pan* and *bidi* shops. Quite a large proportion of shops falling in the food group such as grocery shops, milk and sweetmeat shops also remain open after 10 p.m. It may be noted here that while it is possible that in the case of restaurants, *pan* and *bidi* shops, and sweetmeat shops a good amount of business is transacted after 10 p.m., it is doubtful whether in the grain and grocery shops which remain open after 10 p.m. much business is done after 9 or 9-30 p.m. They are kept open probably because in the majority of grain shops the owners and their assistants stay on the shop premises.

The great majority of shops are kept open from the hour of opening till the time they close in the evening, there being very few shops which close completely even for an hour or two in the afternoon when the business is usually slack. The following table gives, for each of the categories covered by the enquiry, the average number of hours for which shops remain open during the day. To facilitate comparison the average of the number of hours worked by the assistants in each case has been added to the table :

Hours during which shops remain open and shop assistants are on duty.

Type of shop.	Average number of hours during which shops are open.			Average number of hours of work of assistants.
	All shops.	Shops without assistants.	Shops with assistants.	
1. Grocery and Provisions ..	15·01	14·98	15·02	13·54
2. Cloth and Clothing ..	12·77	12·82	12·76	11·39
3. Restaurants	17·15	15·32	17·22	13·14
4. *Bidi* and *Pansupari* ..	17·72	16·78	17·89	14·47
5. Milk and Sweetmeats ..	16·54	16·07	16·69	13·75
6. Tailoring	12·59	13·02	12·39	10·40
7. Metals and Hardware ..	13·09	12·74	13·19	11·78
8. Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	12·33	10·50	12·34	10·62
9. Charcoal and Firewood ..	13·31	12·65	13·37	12·13
10. Vegetables and Fruit ..	15·15	13·94	15·67	14·51
11. Leather Goods ..	12·66	12·83	12·60	11·29
12. Gold and Silverware ..	12·76	12·81	12·75	11·10
13. Cycle, Motor spare parts, Electricware, etc.	12·11	13·35	11·87	10·36
14. Books and Stationery ..	12·24	13·31	11·84	10·24
15. Laundries	12·84	13·50	12·83	11·40
16. Chemicals	13·24	12·94	13·30	10·08
17. Miscellaneous ..	13·17	13·34	13·12	11·45
All shops ..	14·22	13·96	14·28	12·25

The figures given in the above table have already been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. One point of special interest which emerges from it may, however, be noted here. It will be seen that more shops employing assistants keep open longer than shops which do not employ them. For instance, while restaurants employing assistants keep open on an average for 17·22 hours those not employing them are open for only 15·32 hours. Similarly, the corresponding figures for liquor and toddy shops and vegetable and fruit shops are 12·34 and 10·50 and 15·67 and 13·94, respectively.

Intervals.

Table VII in appendix B contains details regarding intervals granted to shop assistants in various categories of shops. Information as regards intervals was supplied only by about two-thirds of the shops covered by the enquiry, the remaining being either unwilling or unable to supply any reliable information on the subject. This is understandable in view of the fact that discipline in shops is comparatively much less rigorous than in factories and the figures given in the table should be read after making due allowance for this factor.

The intervals here dealt with are not so much rest intervals as the time allowed to assistants to take their meals. In cases where shop assistants are housed and fed or only fed by the employer, the question of a regular meal interval of course does not arise, the assistants taking their meals by turns. In this connection it is important to remember that unlike factories there is no particular time earmarked for the meal interval in the majority of shops, the assistants being allowed to go by turns according to convenience. Speaking generally, however, the assistants are allowed to go for meals any time between 11 and 1 o'clock in the case of the majority of shops in the city.

A meal interval of over one hour is almost universal in the Bombay retail shops, only 3 per cent. reporting that its duration was less than one hour. An interval of between one and two hours seems to be the most common. There is, however, a large proportion of shops granting an interval of between two and three hours, there being 656 such cases or 18·71 per cent. of the total. In 5·85 per cent. of the shops, the duration of the interval was between three and four hours, while in 2·62 per cent. it was over four hours.

Among the important categories of shops an interval longer than three hours is to be found in the *pan* and *bidi* shops. This is presumably due to the "turn" system which prevails in such shops. This system also obtains in some of the larger restaurants and this consideration coupled with that of long hours of work probably accounts for the fact that in over 38 per cent. of the cases, the interval was of more than two hours' duration. Of the grocery and provision shops covered by the enquiry, 64·36 per cent. reported an interval of between one to three hours. In the cloth and clothing shops, an interval of between one and two hours seems to be the most usual. Shops opening after 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning do not necessarily give an interval. This is especially so in the case of many of the liquor shops which are prohibited from closing in the afternoons under the license rules. The busy hours in these shops, however, do not start till 6 o'clock in the evening and assistants are allowed to absent themselves in the afternoons on week days to attend to their private work when required.

Apart from these breaks for meals assistants in shops do not get any other intervals. They have to take their tea in the shops where they order it from the neighbouring restaurants. In some cases it is provided by the owner himself. But to say that there are no intervals apart from those given for meals does not necessarily mean that shop assistants are busy throughout their working hours. As will be seen from the section that follows, retail shops of all types have certain slack periods when assistants have little or nothing to do. These periods have not, however, been treated as intervals because during these hours assistants have to be in the shop and are at the disposal of the employer.

Busy Time.

During the course of the enquiry an attempt was made to ascertain the hours during which shops in the various categories are kept specially

busy. In spite of persistent enquiries, however, the majority of shopkeepers could not furnish any reliable information on this point. From the information received and from personal observation it would, however, appear that the busy hours in the case of most of the shops are in the mornings and evenings, except perhaps for shops in the Null Bazar and Mandvi areas. These are big wholesale and retail shops which are busy practically throughout the day.

Grain and provision shops are busy from 7 to 10 in the morning and 5 to 8 or 8–30 in the evening. In the case of cloth shops, the busy hours are from 8 to 10 in the morning and 5 to 8 or 8–30 in the evening, the latter hours being more busy than the former. In the Moolji Jetha Market, however, which deals mainly with brokers or merchants, shops remain busy throughout the day and especially between 12 noon and 5 p.m. Hardware shops also seem to keep busy throughout the day, except for about an hour during the luncheon interval. The busy hours for restaurants are mornings up to about 11 or 11–30 a.m., especially in those restaurants which provide meals to customers at cheap rates, from one to three in the afternoon and again after 5 p.m. The reason why restaurants have three busy periods instead of two is that school and college students, office employees and factory workers patronise them during the mid-day interval thus making that period a busy one for them. As against restaurants, liquor shops appear to have only one busy period and that is between 6 and 9 in the evenings.

As regards busy days, enquiries made show that all days are not equally busy during the week or month for all shops. The first week or fortnight in the month and Sundays and holidays are busier than other days. In the mill area, it is the pay day and the following two or three days. In addition, certain classes of business have especially busy seasons. Diwali, for example, is a busy period for all types of shops, but more especially for cloth and sweetmeat shops and stationers selling Indian account books. Christmas is busy for fruit, wine and provision shops, and for shops selling toys and presentation articles and Christmas cards. It is understood that restaurants and eating houses in Muhammadan localities are particularly busy in the evenings during Ramzan.

Days of Closure.

One of the questions in the schedule asked for information regarding the days of closure of shops during the week or the month. Although an answer to the question was a simple one, a very large proportion of shopkeepers failed to supply the information, very probably because the answer was that the shop was never closed.

Sunday is not recognised as a regular weekly rest day in the Bombay bazars and if there is one day more than another which is recognised as such, especially in the Hindu localities, it is the *Amavasya* or the New Moon Day. This day is observed as a holiday not so much from the point of view of a rest day as because of the apprehension that it is an inauspicious day for making transactions. In spite of this, however,

it was found that only a small proportion of the total shopkeepers in Bombay kept their shops either entirely or partially closed on that day and even in some of the shops which observed it as a closing day, assistants were required to attend for some time although the work was probably lighter than on other days. *Amavasya* as a day of closure is mostly in evidence in the grocery and provision, gold and silverware and cloth and clothing shops.

In the grain "Bazars," there obtains a particularly interesting practice regarding closure on *Amavasya* and other days. Only a certain number of shops in the bazar are allowed to remain open on these days for the convenience of the public and they are required to pay an amount decided upon at an auction on the previous day by way of charity. The bazars also remain closed on the occasion of the death of members if the relations of the latter agree to pay a certain amount towards the charity fund of the bazar.

Chemists and druggists, hardware and motor accessories shops as also some booksellers and stationers observe Sunday as a half holiday. Some Muslim shops are closed for half a day on Fridays.

Apart from the above salient features it is almost impossible to generalise as regards the days of closure in Bombay shops because of the bewildering variety of practice in this respect. Under the excise rules, liquor shops are not permitted to remain closed except on the Holi and Muharram holidays. Restaurants and *pan* and *bidi* and milk shops do not observe any holiday during the year. The general practice in the case of some of the other categories seems to be for each community to keep the shops closed on some of its religious festival days. The practice of closing shops on alternate Saturdays or Sundays for half a day or full day is also to be found in some cases, especially in Christian localities.

As has been pointed out already, generalisation is impossible, but it may not be incorrect to say that the bulk of the shops in Bombay City have no regular rest day either in the week or the month.

Leave.

Of the 2,845 shops employing assistants 442 were reported to be granting leave with pay to their assistants and 1,105 leave without pay, while in 1,298 cases there was no system of granting leave. Where leave is granted its duration is one month or less.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAGE POSITION.

A discussion of the wages earned by shop assistants is not entirely germane to the present enquiry; but as higher wages are often regarded as compensation for longer hours, it was felt necessary to enquire into the wage position as well. The limitations of the information obtained should, however, be understood. The data was obtained in all cases from shopkeepers and there was little or no opportunity for verifying the figures supplied by them either from their records or from the assistants themselves. To minimise errors, the investigators in charge of the enquiry were instructed not to accept any figures which appeared doubtful, and due care was exercised by them to ascertain the real position as far as possible. In spite of these precautions, however, there was a likelihood of a few errors creeping in owing to a tendency on the part of some shopkeepers to give the wage data in round figures. Thus, a shopkeeper actually paying Rs. 8 or 9 to his assistant would often say that he was paying Rs. 10. Such cases were, however, not numerous enough to vitiate the results of the enquiry and within these limitations they can be regarded as fairly accurate.

Methods and Periods of Wage Payment.

The diversity of practice between shop and shop and trade and trade, which is such a prominent feature of the working hours in retail distribution in Bombay City is also to be found to some extent in the methods of wage payment. Thus while some shop-owners engage their assistants on a daily basis others engage theirs on a monthly or yearly basis. As in the case of factories, however, the monthly system of wage payment is the most prevalent in the retail shops in Bombay City, as will be seen from the following table :—

Periods of Wage Payment.

Type of Shop.	No. of shops reporting the following periods of wage payment.				
	Daily.	Monthly.	Yearly.	Others.*	Total.
1. Grocery and Provision.	12	194	210	14	430
2. Cloth and Clothing ..	9	365	21	11	406
3. Restaurants ..	9	288	..	6	303
4. Bidi and Pansupari ..	20	130	4	61	215
5. Milk and Sweetmeats ..	4	120	5	....	129
6. Tailoring ..	22	81	..	7	110
7. Metals and Hardware ..	7	104	19	..	130

*Includes combinations of wage periods given in Columns 2 to 4 but excludes 483 shops run by owners and 189 cases in which satisfactory information was not available.

Periods of Wage Payment.

Type of Shop.	No. of shops reporting the following periods of wage payment.				
	Daily.	Monthly.	Yearly.	Others.*	Total.
8. Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	..	153	..	2	155
9. Charcoal and Firewood	19	81	..	4	104
10. Vegetables and Fruit..	33	41	1	..	75
11. Leather Goods ..	14	46	..	1	61
12. Gold and Silverware ..	3	51	7	5	66
13. Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric Ware, etc.	1	62	..	1	64
14. Books and Stationery..	1	45	..	1	47
15. Laundries ..	4	49	..	1	54
16. Chemicals ..	1	39	..	..	40
17. Miscellaneous ..	58	328	37	22	445
Total ..	217	2,177	304	136	2,834
Percentage to Total ..	7·66	76·82	10·72	4·80	100·00

It will be observed that the system of monthly payment predominates in almost every category of shop covered by the enquiry with the exception of grocery and provision shops in which it is to be found in nearly 49 per cent. of the cases. On the other hand, there is a complete absence of this system in several classes of retail trade, with the result that although there are more shops paying yearly than there are paying daily the number of assistants so paid is smaller.

In 136 or 4·80 per cent. of the cases a combination of these systems was reported—the *bidi* and *pansupari* shops accounting for the largest number—the system of payment varying with the kind of employment.

A necessary feature of the yearly system of payment is the practice of granting advances to assistants against their wages before the completion of the period. The following table shows the number of assistants in the various categories according as they are paid monthly, daily or yearly.

*Includes combinations of wage periods given in Columns 2 to 4 but excludes 483 shops run by owners and 189 cases in which satisfactory information was not available.

Periods of Wage Payment.

Type of Shop.	Number of Assistants who are paid			
	Monthly.	Daily.	Yearly.	Total.
Grocery and Provision ..	409	19	371	799
Cloth and Clothing ..	1,149	78	27	1,254
Restaurants ..	2,037	61	1	2,099
Bidi and Pansupari ..	755	213	6	974
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	417	6	5	428
Tailoring	375	61	....	436
Metals and Hardware ..	262	8	35	305
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	643	4	....	647
Charcoal and Firewood ..	112	43	....	155
Vegetables and Fruit ..	68	35	2	105
Leather Goods ..	149	19	....	168
Gold and Silverware ..	145	3	11	159
Cycle, Motor Spare parts, Electric ware, etc.	230	1	....	231
Books and Stationery ..	116	4	....	120
Laundries	143	11	....	154
Chemicals	210	2	....	212
Miscellaneous ..	936	147	54	1,137
Total ..	8,156	715	512	9,383*
Percentage to total ..	86·92	7·62	5·46	100·00

It will be seen that nearly 87 per cent. of the assistants are paid on a monthly basis, 7·62 per cent. on a daily basis and 5·46 per cent. on a yearly basis. In the grocery and provision shops nearly half the assistants are on the yearly system of payment. These are mostly employed in the grain shops owned by *Cutchis*. The presence of a comparatively large number of daily rated employees in the *bidi* and *pansupari* shops is explained by the fact that *bidi*-makers are usually paid on a daily basis, while in the *pansupari* shops persons are employed on daily rates of pay for cutting betel nut or *supari* into fine slices. In the charcoal and firewood group, nearly 72 per cent. of the assistants were returned as monthly rated. Those paid daily are mostly coolies employed in chopping and piling wood and delivering it. In the tailoring shops, 61 persons were returned as daily rated men. During rush periods it is not unusual for tailoring shops to employ temporary assistants on daily wages, although speaking generally most persons employed in the tailoring trade are on a monthly basis of pay.

Another feature of the retail trade is that, contrary to the practice in factories, wages in shops are paid both in cash and in kind—in kind in the sense that many assistants are provided with either board and

*This number excludes 119 cases in which assistants did not receive any pay and also 710 cases for which no information was available.

lodging or board or lodging only in addition to cash wages. A consideration of the wage position of shop assistants, therefore, requires a further analysis according as the assistants get a money wage only or are also given board and/or lodging. The following table classifies the systems of wage payment separately for assistants getting wages only and assistants who are housed and fed or housed or fed by the employer.

Periods of Wage Payment.

Type of Shop.	Assistants getting wages only.			Assistants getting wages Boarding and/or Lodging.			Total.
	Monthly.	Daily.	Yearly.	Monthly.	Daily.	Yearly.	
Grocery and Provision ..	315	19	2	94	..	369	799
Cloth and Clothing ..	1,087	78	..	62	..	27	1,254
Restaurants ..	324	5	..	1,713	56	1	2,099
Bidis and Pansupari ..	506	211	2	249	2	4	974
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	145	6	..	272	..	5	428
Tailoring ..	351	60	..	24	1	..	436
Metals and Hardware ..	219	3	..	43	5	35	305
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	566	3	..	77	1	..	647
Charcoal and Firewood ..	70	35	..	42	8	..	155
Vegetables and Fruit ..	65	35	..	3	..	2	105
Leather Goods ..	125	18	..	24	1	..	168
Gold and Silverware ..	131	3	1	14	..	10	159
Cycle, Motor Spare-parts, Electric ware, etc.	219	1	..	11	..	..	231
Books and Stationery ..	111	4	..	5	..	..	120
Laundries ..	134	11	..	9	..	..	154
Chemicals ..	201	2	..	9	..	..	212
Miscellaneous ..	817	132	2	119	15	52	1,137
Total ..	5,386	626	7	2,770	89	505	9,383
Percentage to Total ..	57·40	6·67	0·08	29·52	0·95	5·38	100·00

It is perhaps not generally realised to what extent shop assistants in Bombay are housed or fed by their employers. The enquiry showed that 1,138 shops employing over one-third of the shop assistants covered by the enquiry provided board and lodging to their employees. The four main categories which contribute mainly to this result are the following: (*i*) restaurants; (*ii*) grocery and provision shops; (*iii*) milk and sweetmeat shops; and (*iv*) *bidi* and *pansupari* shops. Of the 2,099 shop assistants in restaurants for whom information was available, no fewer than 1,770 or 84·3 per cent. were reported to be provided with board and lodging or board or lodging by the employer. As may be expected the assistants get their food in the restaurant, but the employer does not always provide lodging on the shop premises. He sometimes rents a room in the vicinity of the restaurant and it is used as a sort of dormitory for the employees. In the case of grocery and provision shops,

nearly 58 per cent. of the assistants receive both board and lodging or either board or lodging in addition to their pay. Unlike restaurants, in the case of grain shops included in this group, the assistants usually board and lodge with the employer on the shop premises. The large number of assistants in milk shops "living in" is ascribed to the fact that a considerable proportion of the shops selling raw milk are owned by U. P. *bhayyas* whose assistants also hail from the same province and owner and assistant prefer to live and eat together. Moreover these shops open early and close late. The large number of persons in *bidi* and *pansupari* shops living on shop premises is not so easy to explain, although here again the very early opening hour of the *bidi* shops is probably an important factor.

A striking fact which emerges from the table is the close relation which exists between the yearly system of payment and the provision of board and lodging to the employees. Out of the 512 assistants who were paid on an annual basis, 505 or 98·6 per cent. were given board and lodging in addition to cash remuneration. It is interesting to note in this connection that the practice of providing board and lodging to yearly paid employees in part payment for service was common in England at one time. As the New Survey of London Life and Labour observes, "Formerly, where the living-in system obtained, remuneration was on a yearly basis in addition to free board and lodging".

In contrast to the yearly-paid assistants very few of those on a daily basis are provided with board and lodging. In the monthly group the percentages of assistants getting money wages only and those getting board and lodging or board or lodging are 66 and 34 respectively of the total number of assistants in the group.

Earnings.

The existence of the system of paying wages either daily, monthly or yearly and of providing board and lodging in part payment for service makes it extremely difficult to arrive at any general average of the earnings of shop assistants in Bombay City. No attempt has therefore been made to work out such a figure; but tables have been prepared showing the frequencies of the wages of shop assistants. These tables (Tables VIII, IX and X in appendix B) contain information separately for the various categories of shops covered by the enquiry according to the period of wage payment. Column 1 which gives the cash earnings of shop assistants includes regular allowances such as are given in some shops for out-of-pocket expenses. For instance, the practice of paying an anna or two per day for tea or *pansupari* or *bidi* exists to some extent in restaurants, milk and sweetmeat shops and some other categories of shops in the city and these allowances have been included in the figures in column 1. Where, however, such allowances were given in kind, such as the serving of tea or the supply of *pan* or *bidi*, they have been excluded owing to the difficulty of evaluating them correctly. It will be seen from the tables that wage figures have been given separately for each category

of shop according as assistants get a money wage only or a money wage plus certain perquisites such as board, lodging, etc. As some assistants are given either board or lodging only, they have also been shown separately to indicate the real wage position in retail distribution.

An examination of the wage position of shop assistants in receipt of an annual salary is a comparatively easy matter, because with the exception of a few assistants they are housed and fed by the employer. Table X in Appendix B shows that over half of the assistants are in receipt of an annual salary exceeding Rs. 200. There were no fewer than six cases in which the salary was reported to be Rs. 375 and over, the highest salary recorded being Rs. 600 in one case. The number of assistants getting less than Rs. 100 is very small, being only 7·04 per cent. of the total. The percentage of those getting between Rs. 100 and Rs. 150 was 16·69 and of those getting between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200, 21·87. These figures when reduced to a monthly basis and read in the light of the consideration that the wages paid are in addition to board and lodging would appear to compare well with wages in many other trades and industries.

A noticeable feature of the table is the concentration in alternate frequency groups beginning with multiples of 50. Shopkeepers, however, are not the only persons to show such partiality for round numbers, because as the Actuary's report of the 1931 Census points out the age returns reveal certain very noticeable likes and dislikes so far as figures are concerned, 0 and 5 being the hottest favourites. At the same time it may also be possible to explain these concentrations in this case by the prevailing practice of fixing the annual salary in multiples of 10 rather than in odd numbers.

In the grain shops which form the major portion of shops paying their assistants annually, the largest number of cases are in the alternate frequency groups Rs. 150—175, Rs. 200—225, Rs. 250—275 and Rs. 300—325, those getting Rs. 200—225 forming the largest single group. In a few cases assistants were reported to be getting as much as Rs. 400 and over per year. Of the assistants in the miscellaneous group engaged yearly, most are Jains employed in the *Sarafi* shops and their conditions of employment are more or less similar to those of assistants in grain shops.

Of the daily paid workers, Table IX in Appendix B shows that 332 or 46·44 per cent. earn between eight annas and Re. 1 per day, nearly 11 per cent. getting less than eight annas daily. Cases were however reported of assistants earning as much as Rs. 4 per day. This wide difference in the earnings of assistants in this group is explained by its composition. At one end are odd job men working probably as temporary hands or substitutes, coolies, boys in restaurants or workers in *pan* and *bidi* shops, and at the other highly skilled workers employed as tailors in cloth and clothing and tailoring shops or carpenters in furniture, upholstery and similar shops. In between these two groups come the *bidi* makers in *bidi* shops and the average tailor in the tailoring shop. The majority of assistants in *bidi* shops which report the largest

individual number of assistants on a daily wage are bidi makers and they are generally paid a money wage only. The assistants in cloth shops are paid higher money wages than those in restaurants ; but it must be remembered that the cash wages in the latter case are generally supplemented by board and lodging. Indeed, of the daily paid employees, restaurant assistants are the only ones to get board and lodging on a large scale in part payment for service.

The total number of shop assistants who were reported to be in receipt of a monthly wage was 8,156. Of these, 5,386 were paid a money wage only, while the remaining 2,770 received in addition either boarding and lodging or board or lodging. In order to arrive at a correct appraisal of the wage position of shop assistants in receipt of a monthly wage, it is necessary, therefore, to analyse separately the wages of those who get money wages only and of those who get other perquisites in addition.

As will be seen from the table that follows of those in receipt of a money wage only, 536 or less than 10 per cent. of the total get a monthly wage of under Rs. 15. The two categories of shops which account for a large number of such employees are assistants in restaurants and in pan and bidi shops. Over 66 per cent. of the assistants are in receipt of a monthly wage of between Rs. 15 and Rs. 45. The categories of shops in which such assistants are to be found in considerable number are the cloth shops, tailoring establishments and liquor, gold and silverware and cycle and motor spare parts shops. In the remaining 1,251 cases the monthly wage reported was between Rs. 45 and Rs. 65 or over. Here again the figures show that those in receipt of a monthly wage of Rs. 55 and over are prominently to be found in cloth shops, tailoring shops, liquor shops and cycle and motor spare parts shops. No fewer than 95 shop assistants in cloth shops were reported to be getting a wage of Rs. 65 and over, the number of such assistants in liquor shops being 52 and 40 in cycle shops.

In shops which provide board and lodging or boarding or lodging, wages are comparatively much less than in shops which do not have that system. Thus, while in shops not providing boarding and lodging less than 10 per cent. of the assistants get a monthly wage of under Rs. 15, in shops providing boarding and lodging the percentage is 55·27. Again, while in shops not providing boarding and lodging the percentage of employees in receipt of a wage of between Rs. 15 and Rs. 45 was over 66, in shops providing boarding and lodging the number of cases was 1,180 or 42·59 per cent. In the latter type of shops only in 59 or 2·14 per cent. of cases was the pay reported to be higher than Rs. 45, the corresponding figure for shops not supplying boarding and lodging being nearly 23 per cent. The following table briefly summarises the position as regards the wages of shop assistants

who get money wages only and of those who get boarding and lodging in addition to cash wages:

Monthly earnings.	Assistants getting		
	Wages only.	Wages, boarding and/or lodging.	Total.
Below Rs. 5	22	149	171
Rs. 5—Rs. 10	173	757	930
„ 10— „ 15	341	625	966
„ 15— „ 20	692	506	1,198
„ 20— „ 25	716	263	979
„ 25— „ 30	664	193	857
„ 30— „ 35	736	129	865
„ 35— „ 45	791	89	880
„ 45— „ 55	566	32	598
„ 55— „ 65	282	8	290
„ 65 and over	403	19	422
Total ..	5,386	2,770	8,156

The table reveals a direct correlation between wages and the provision of boarding and lodging. It will be seen that the system is more common among the lower-paid employees, the number of such cases diminishing as cash wages increase. It is however difficult to say which of the two is the cause and which the effect; whether low wages are due to the provision of board and lodging or boarding and lodging are provided because of low wages. The analogy of domestic servants would appear to suggest that where the employee is housed and fed by the employer, the wages paid are about two-thirds of what he would get otherwise.

The above discussion shows that the wage system in retail shops in Bombay City is somewhat complicated. Owing to the diversity in the period of wage payment and the existence of the living-in system in certain categories of shops it is difficult to get a clear picture of the wage position in the retail trade of the City. It may however be possible to obtain a fair idea of the wage position from a separate consideration of some of the important categories of shops.

Restaurants.

From the point of view of the employment of shop assistants, restaurants are the most important, as they account for 22 per cent. of the total number of assistants covered by the enquiry. The average daily hours of work in restaurants are 13·14. The monthly system of wage payment is almost universal in this class of business and the living-in system more common than in any other category of shops, with, perhaps, the exception of grain shops. Work in restaurants, except for those who sit at the counter or work in the kitchen, is ordinary unskilled work. It is however difficult to compare the remuneration of assistants in restaurants with other unskilled workers in factories and workshops because, as has been already stated, the wages paid to

assistants are partly in cash and partly in kind and partly because the hours of work in restaurants are considerably longer than those in factories. If assistants in restaurants in receipt of a money wage only are considered it is seen that a very considerable proportion of them earn less than Rs. 15 per month, nearly one-third of the total being in the wage group Rs. 5—10. No generalisation is however possible on the basis of these figures for two reasons. First, the majority of new recruits to restaurants are young boys, and secondly, the figures relate only to a fraction of the total number of assistants in restaurants.

Cloth and Clothing.

Of the 1,377 assistants in cloth and clothing shops covered by the enquiry, 1,149 were in receipt of a monthly pay. The average daily hours of work in cloth shops are 11·39. Unlike restaurants, cloth and clothing shops seldom provide board and lodging to their assistants, who are generally literate and belong to the lower middle class of society. As the summary table at the end of this section will show, there are very few shop assistants getting a salary of less than Rs. 15, 31 per cent. get between Rs. 15 to 30, while nearly 65 per cent. receive Rs. 30 or over per month. As a matter of fact, among the retail shops in Bombay City, the cloth and clothing shops appear to pay the best wages.

Bidi and Pansupari Shops.

Although a large majority of assistants in bidi shops are in receipt of monthly wages, a fairly large number is on daily rates of wages. A few assistants in these shops live on the premises, probably because of the early opening hours of these shops, but in very few cases is board provided. The average daily hours of work of assistants are 14·47. The summary table at the end of this section shows that in more than half the number of cases the wages were below Rs. 20 per month.

Grocery and Provisions.

Grocery and provision shops, as has been already stated, show great variety so far as the conditions of work and wages are concerned. While the living-in system obtains to a considerable degree in grain shops, it is almost non-existent in grocery shops. The periods of wage payment also differ, the year being almost universal in grain shops and the month in grocery shops. It is therefore very difficult to generalise about the conditions of work and wages in the group "Grocery and Provisions". It would not, however, be incorrect to say that so far as those who are paid a monthly cash wage are concerned the range appears to lie within the wage groups Rs. 15 to 45, an extremely small number getting less than Rs. 15 per month.

Liquor and Toddy, etc.

The monthly system of wage payment on a cash basis is almost universal in liquor, toddy and other shops included in this group. The

average daily hours of work are 10·62. As the table at the end of this section will show nearly 50 per cent. of the assistants in these shops are in receipt of a wage exceeding Rs. 30 per month, no less than 52 or 9·2 per cent. getting Rs. 65 or more. Salesmanship in a liquor or toddy shop does not require any high degree of skill, or intelligence; but presumably the reason why assistants in these shops receive high wages is that the supply of labour is somewhat restricted owing to the assistants being mostly drawn from one community, namely the Bhandari community. Moreover in quite a number of shops the management is left by the owners entirely in the hands of assistants who are therefore paid higher wages to secure the right type.

The following table contains information regarding the cash wages of assistants on a monthly basis of pay in certain selected categories of shops:—

Type of Shop.	Number of Assistants in receipt of wages				
	Below Rs. 5.	Rs. 5–10.	Rs. 10–15.	Rs. 15–20.	Rs. 20–25.
Cloth and Clothing ..	1	15	28	83	131
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	..	5	24	66	117
Bidis and Pansupari ..	1	1	86	176	104
Tailoring ..	..	8	12	18	21
Restaurants ..	13	100	69	41	37
Grocery and Provision.	2	1	8	49	56
Total ..	17	130	227	433	466

Type of Shop.	Number of Assistants in receipt of wages—*contd.*						
	Rs. 25–30.	Rs. 30–35.	Rs. 35–45.	Rs. 45–55.	Rs. 55–65.	Rs. 65 and over.	Total.
Cloth and Clothing ..	123	148	215	180	68	95	1,087
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	78	84	60	53	27	52	566
Bidis and Pansupari.	83	44	8	2	..	1	506
Tailoring ..	23	49	84	59	58	19	351
Restaurants ..	28	11	8	9	4	4	324
Grocery and Provision	54	55	54	12	8	16	315
Total ..	389	391	429	315	165	187	3,149

The difficulties of comparing wages of shop assistants with those of workmen in factories and workshops have already been enumerated.

A table has, however, been compiled and printed as table XI in appendix B showing the monthly earnings of certain types of industrial workers in Bombay City. Owing to the differences in the nature of the occupations these figures are not strictly comparable with those for shop assistants and may be taken for what they are worth.

Allowances and Bonuses

There is no regular system of paying either allowances or bonuses in the retail trade of Bombay City. That is not to say, however, that no allowances or bonuses are given. The present enquiry shows that about one-tenth of the assistants get small allowances in cash or in kind in the form of a tea or a *bidi* or *pansupari* allowance, while 522 assistants were reported to be receiving an annual Diwali cash bonus ranging in value from Rs. 2 to Rs. 15. There being greater personal contact between masters and men in retail shops as compared to factories, the grant of an allowance or promotion depends to a large extent on the personal factor.

In some categories of shops, particularly restaurants serving English food, and in refreshment bars serving alcoholic drinks, shop assistants often get tips from the customers. It is of course impossible to say what they amount to.

CHAPTER IV.

Ahmedabad.

The enquiry at Ahmedabad was not conducted by the schedule method as no staff was available for this purpose. Conditions in Ahmedabad were, for various reasons, more favourable for a non-schedule enquiry than in Bombay and the Labour Officer there who made the enquiry was able to collect a mass of information which is summarised in the following pages. The facts and figures given there are based upon published statistics and those obtained from the trade associations, as well as by personal enquiries from shop-keepers and shop-assistants.

It is estimated that the number of retail shops in Ahmedabad is in the neighbourhood of eight thousand. In the absence of any other source of information, the above estimate is based on the housing and population census taken by the Ahmedabad Municipality in 1932. Restaurants, which number about 2,000, form the largest single category of shops in Ahmedabad. Next to them come *pan* and *bidi* shops (1,300), grain and grocers' shops (900), cloth shops (800), hair-dressing saloons (300), and vegetable stalls (200). These together with boot and shoe shops, meat shops and gold and silver shops account for about 75 per cent. of the retail shops in Ahmedabad. Tailoring establishments and milk, sweetmeat, charcoal and firewood, hardware, stationery, cutlery and oil shops are among those which constitute the remaining 25 per cent.

Table XII in Appendix B summarises the position as regards the conditions of work and wages of shop assistants in Ahmedabad.

Number of Shop Assistants.

It is estimated by the *Gumasta Hitwardhak Sabha of Ahmedabad* that the number of shop assistants including those working in restaurants is about twenty thousand. Owing to the civil disobedience movement, the 1931 population census could not be carried out in Ahmedabad and it is therefore difficult to estimate the actual number of shop assistants. The 1921 figures are, however, helpful in this direction. That census showed that 20·5 per cent. of the population of Ahmedabad lived by trade. Excluding bankers, brokers and transport workers, the percentage of those living by trade comes to 17·2 of the population. According to the population census of Ahmedabad taken by the Ahmedabad Municipality in the year 1932 the population in that year was 420,000. Assuming that the population living by trade had maintained the same proportion as before, 72,000 persons including workers and dependants would be living by trade at present. The proportion between workers and dependants amongst traders was as 100 to 170 in 1921. If the same proportion holds good today, the number of workers and dependants will be 27,000 and 45,000 respectively. Of these 27,000, one thousand may be taken as wholesale dealers and their assistants. Of the remaining

26,000, about 10,000 would be owners, partners, etc. Thus the number of shop assistants would be about 16,000.

Of the total number of shop assistants about 2,000 were reported as being below the age of 12 and about the same number between 12 and 18. Nearly 1,500 out of the 2,000 children under 12 are employed in restaurants, the rest being in the clothing, *pan* and *bidi*, grocery and footwear shops. Young persons between 12 and 18 are mostly employed in cloth shops, grain shops, *pan-bidi* shops and restaurants.

The practice of employing relatives as shop assistants is not very common in Ahmedabad and it is estimated that the number of relatives working in this capacity is not likely to exceed one thousand.

Hours of Work.

In the absence of a shift system the length of the working day naturally depends on the hour of opening and closing of the shop. Where, therefore, as in the case of restaurants, the opening hour is early in the morning and the closing hour late at night, the daily hours of work of shop assistants are long, varying in Ahmedabad City from 12 to 16 per day. In the case of hair cutting saloons of which there are 300 in Ahmedabad, employing about 700 assistants, the daily hours of work vary from 14 to 16. The hours of work in vegetable shops are reported to be between 14 and 15 although the workers in such shops are of the labourer rather than the shop assistant type. It is possible also that during the afternoon the employees in such shops have little or no work to do. In cutlery shops the hours of work are from 13 to 14 per day and in footwear shops from 12 to 13 per day.

Next to restaurants the most important category is *pan* and *bidi* shops. In these, the hours of work vary between nine and 12 per day with an interval varying from one to four hours. Although some *pan* and *bidi* shops open from 5 a.m. to 1 a.m. the assistants are not on duty all that time. There is some sort of turn system and the actual hours of work do not ordinarily exceed 12.

Apart from restaurants and *pan* and *bidi* shops the three other important categories are clothing, grocery and food grains. From the point of view of the employment of shop assistants, clothing is the most important group as it is reported to be employing nearly 4,000 assistants. In two of the principal cloth markets of Ahmedabad the hours of work are ordinarily between nine and ten. The hours of work usually are from 8 to 11 a.m. and 12-30 p.m. to 8 p.m. or from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Sometimes during the busy season the assistants are asked to come back to the shop after their evening meals. It is reported that for about five months in the year shop assistants in cloth shops have to work at night from 8-30 p.m. to midnight in addition to their work during the day.

In the case of grocery and chemists' and druggists' shops the daily hours of work are from 10 to 11. In the other trades including food-grains the daily hours of work do not exceed 9 to 10.

Intervals.

The intervals given in retail shops are not so much rest intervals as intervals for meals. The time allowed for this purpose differs in the various trades and varies from half an hour to two and a half hours. The smallest interval is to be found in hair cutting saloons. In the cloth shops, the assistants are granted from one to two hours off. In the restaurants and hotels, the assistants take the meal interval by turns. In stationery shops an interval of two to two and a half hours is allowed for the afternoon meal. In shops dealing in motor accessories, the interval for shop assistants is one hour, while for the coolies in charge of petrol pumps it is two and a half hours. Assistants in chemists' and druggists' shops are given much longer intervals.

Days of Closing.

In Ahmedabad some retail shops appear to remain closed much more often than in Bombay. The days of closing, however, differ from trade to trade. They are locally known as *pakies*, and fall mostly on the New Moon Day, the eight Jain feasting days (*Pachushan*) and 15 important Hindu and Muslim festivals such as Uttarayan, Dassera, Bakri-Id, Ramzan-Id, etc. The death of a prominent person often causes the closure of certain bazars. For instance, when a member of a trade association dies, the bazar is closed on payment of a certain sum to the association's charity fund. The rules of the associations also provide for the closure of a bazar on the death of an outsider, the condition being the payment of a much higher sum to the charity fund than in the case of the death of a member of the association. Throughout the year there are about 40 days of closure although in certain trades such as the brassware trades these may be more. Ordinarily the cloth shops are closed for 33 days in the year and the grain shops for almost the same number. Some bazars are however open throughout the year. Restaurants and hotels, grocery shops, butchers' shops and cutlery shops also remain open throughout the year.

It may be pointed out that the closure of the bazar does not necessarily mean a holiday for the shop assistants. When the bazar is closed, it is closed for sales only. The shop assistants often have to be on duty although work during days of closure may not be very strenuous.

Holidays with Pay.

Except in shops dealing in motor accessories, shop assistants do not get any regular holidays with pay. Motor accessories shops, however, grant a half holiday on Sundays and some important public holidays. In some liquor shops the assistants are given two full holidays in a month whenever asked for.

Leave.

Except in the case of chemists and druggists, who allow their assistants one month's leave every year, there is no system of granting leave in the

other categories of retail shops in Ahmedabad. The privilege of a month's leave with pay granted by the chemists and druggists is really in the nature of a bonus because if a person does not wish to avail himself of the leave, he is entitled to an additional month's pay. In other classes of shops, the granting of leave depends on the goodwill of the employer and the leave granted is generally leave without pay. In some of the grocery shops, assistants with long service can take seven days' leave at a time up to a maximum of two weeks in a year.

Wages.

Speaking generally, shop assistants in Ahmedabad are paid on the basis of an annual salary except in the case of shops run on modern lines. In clothing shops, in which about four thousand shop assistants are employed, there are four or five different categories of assistants. First of all, there are the apprentices who receive no pay at all during their period of apprenticeship. Next come the general assistants, the range of whose annual income varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. The next category, which accounts for nearly half the total, is of junior salesmen, bill collectors, etc., and the range of their pay is between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 per annum. About 30 per cent. of the total shop assistants are salesmen in the real sense of the word and the range of their pay varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,200 per annum. Accountants and superior salesmen, who form about 10 per cent. of the total, receive an annual pay varying from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 2,500. Some accountants rise as high as Rs. 3,000 per year and also get a share in the profits. Taking the clothing trade as a whole, it would not be incorrect to say that in the case of the bulk of the employees, the monthly wages vary from Rs. 20 to Rs. 50, the minimum being Rs. 4 and the maximum over Rs. 200.

The majority of assistants in restaurants and hotels are above 12 years of age and earn between Rs. 3 and Rs. 12 per month. Boys under 12 who number about 1,500 get between Re. 1 and Rs. 3 per month. In addition to their salary, assistants in restaurants are sometimes paid a commission on the sales they effect. The payment is not always made every month and very often the amount due to the assistants is credited to their account and paid at the time when they go to their native places.

Assistants in *pan* and *bidi* shops ordinarily earn between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 per month.

The starting pay in foodgrain shops is often as low as Rs. 2 the reason being that the *ghanchies* send their sons to such shops for learning the trade with a view to starting their own business later on. Generally, however, the assistants are started on Rs. 5 per month and they rise up to Rs. 30 per month. In grocery shops, the minimum pay is Rs. 10 and the maximum Rs. 40.

Apart from clothing establishments in which there are considerable chances of promotion to a higher limit of Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 per month, liquor shops, jewellery shops, cutlery and timber shops offer chances of promotion up to Rs. 100 per month to really first class men.

Assistants in the meat and vegetable markets are more like labourers than shop assistants and are paid daily wages. The workers in the meat market get from six annas to Re. 1 per day, while the daily earnings of those in the vegetable market amount to eight to twelve annas. The latter, in addition, get a breakfast allowance of two annas per day.

A comparative study of the wages paid in the different types of shops shows that wages are lowest in restaurants and eating houses. It should be remembered, however, that in almost all eating houses and in some restaurants, boarding and lodging is provided in addition to the wages paid. The low starting pay in the grain shops is, as has already been pointed out, due to the fact that the assistants are mostly apprentices wanting to learn the trade. Speaking generally, therefore, in the majority of shops (excluding restaurants) the starting pay is from about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 rising to between Rs. 30 and Rs. 60.

Boarding and Lodging.

The system of providing boarding and lodging for assistants is more common in eating houses and restaurants than in any other type of shop although even in the former the system is by no means universal. In the case of eating houses, boarding and lodging are provided as a matter of course but in the case of small restaurants the assistants are expected to go home for their meals.

In cloth shops owned by non-Gujarathis such as Sindhis, Memons, Punjabis and Marwaris, the assistants board and lodge with the owners. In cases in which boarding and lodging facilities are provided, the wages are about Rs. 100 less per year than when they are not provided.

Relatives working in shops do not always live with the owners.

Allowances.

There are no regular allowances attached to the wages of shop assistants in Ahmedabad, although the practice of providing certain perquisites prevails. For instance, certain cloth, *pan-bidi* and jewellery shops serve tea to their assistants and the vegetable stall assistants get a daily breakfast allowance of two annas. Assistants serving in restaurants get a cigarette (*bidi*) allowance of one pice per day and in one case this allowance was reported to be as high as four annas per day.

Overtime.

It is reported that in addition to long hours of work while the shop is open considerable overtime is put in by shop assistants in Ahmedabad. So far as cloth shops are concerned, stock-taking takes place every New Moon Day when in some of the bigger shops work has to be carried on till the early hours of the morning. During the busy season, which is reported to last for about four to five months in the year, there is considerable overtime. No regular payment

is made for overtime as such, although for workers working late at night some refreshments are served and they are allowed to come to work a little later the next day. In certain categories of shops, the opening of newly received parcels, etc., also involves some overtime for the assistants.

Bonus.

There is no bonus system in any of the Ahmedabad shops although assistants of exceptional ability are sometimes given a share in the profits at the end of the year or a rise in their pay if the year has been a good one. Occasionally a Diwali present of a few rupees is also given.

Organisation Among Shop Owners.

Gujarat has been noted for its trade guilds and caste associations from times immemorial. As originally constituted, these guilds bore a striking resemblance to the trade guilds of medieval Europe except perhaps in this, that in Gujarat the caste rather than the occupation was the most potent unifying factor. The object of these guilds, as the Imperial Gazetteer points out, was the regulation of competition amongst the members by prescribing the days and hours during which work should not be done. The decisions of the guilds were enforced by fines and if the offender refused to pay he was ex-communicated. If the guild contained men of different castes, it used its influence with other guilds to prevent the recalcitrant member from getting work. New entrants to any trade were made to pay a heavy fee and the income of the guilds was spent on feasts or on charity.

The essential framework of the old guild still remains and almost every important section of the retail trade in Ahmedabad is closely knit in a Mahajan or association. There are 19 such associations at present in Ahmedabad. Some of them are regular trade associations, with a constitution. The Mahajan decides upon the days of closure and deals with matters relating to the trade, etc. A considerable portion of the income of the Mahajan is earmarked for charity.

Organisation among Shop Assistants.

Organisation among shop assistants in Ahmedabad is of very recent origin although during the years 1925 to 1929 there was a small union of assistants working in gold and silver shops. After the first reading of Mr. Bakhale's Bill in the Legislative Council, the *Gumastha Hitwardhak Sabha* came into existence in Ahmedabad. It consists of about two to three hundred members, a large proportion of whom are employees of a local cloth market.

Summary.

The following conclusions may be stated :—

1. There are about 8,000 shops in Ahmedabad. Of these, 2,000 are hotels and 1,300 *pan-bidi* shops.

2. The organisation of the trade has not improved on modern lines. Multiple firms and co-operative and departmental stores are entirely absent. The private owner employing assistants, the independent trader running the small shop with the help of his own family and partnership firms are common. Single owner shops with assistants form about 60 per cent. of the total. "Family shops" are estimated to constitute about 25 per cent. and partnership firms about 15 per cent. of the total number of shops. Limited liability companies are rare.

3. There is no mechanization whatever in the shops. Every single operation is done by hand by assistants as they used to do in the last century. No automatic machines are in use.

4. The number of shop assistants is estimated to be 16,000. Of these 6,000 are in hotels, 4,000 in cloth shops and 1,000 in *pan-bidi* shops.

5. The assistants in hotels are drawn from the labouring classes and those in cloth shops from the lower middle class.

6. The only training which shop assistants get is working in the shop. For the period of apprenticeship which ranges from two to six months no wages are paid.

7. About 2,000 assistants are below the age of 12. Of these 1,500 are found in hotels. Two thousand more are about twelve but below eighteen.

8. No women are engaged as paid assistants. In the case of grain, milk and ghee shops run by Ghanchis their womenfolk also work in the shops. In the vegetable market Waghri women are found selling vegetables.

9. The number of relatives working as paid assistants is not more than 1,000.

10. The opening hour ranges from 5 a.m. in hotels, meat and *pan-bidi* shops to 8-30 a.m. in cloth and other shops.

11. The closing hour ranges from 7-30 p.m. in grain shops to 2-30 a.m. in hotels.

12. The total number of hours of work is as high as 16 in hotels and hair-cutting saloons. It is not less than 9 to 10 hours anywhere.

13. Friday, the market day and Sunday or mill holiday are busy days. Busy hours are different for different shops.

14. The interval for the mid-day meal ranges from half an hour to two and a half hours.

15. Many shops e.g., hotels and *pan-bidi* shops never close throughout the year. Cloth shops close for about forty days in a year. On these days sales only are forbidden. Assistants have to work on those days also.

16. In the majority of cases no holidays are granted. Where they are granted for four or five big festival days the assistants get pay.

17. The granting of leave without pay is common. Leave with pay for any reason depends on the pleasure of owner. Chemists and druggists grant one month's leave with pay in a year.

18. Wages are mostly fixed on an annual basis and advances are granted every month.

19. The pay is not fixed on a graded scale and the prospects of promotion entirely depend on the ability of the assistant and the pleasure of the owner.

20. The majority of assistants earn below Rs. 20 per month.

21. Boarding and lodging arrangements are found in the case of many hotel servants and a few assistants in cloth shops.

22. No payment is made for overtime beyond one or two cups of tea.

23. No special bonus is paid beyond the bonus of a few rupees at the time of Divali.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER CENTRES.

Poona.

According to the 1931 census the population of Poona City was 179,577, the population of the Cantonment being 35,807. Poona City is divided into 18 wards locally known as *peths*.

Information is not available as regards the total number of retail shops in Poona City. It is also difficult to make an estimate as a number of shops are both wholesale and retail. The conditions of work and wages in the main categories of shops in Poona may be considered here.

Cloth and Clothing.

These shops are owned by Deccanis, Gujaratis and Jains. In the majority of the shops paid assistants are employed. The opening hour is 8 a.m. in winter and 7 a.m. or 7-30 a.m. in summer. The closing hour is generally 9 p.m. Most of the labour employed in such shops is adult labour over 18 years of age. The busy hours are between 8-30 a.m. and 12 noon and 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. During the busy season (the marriage season) the employees have to work late at night but no overtime pay or allowance is paid. A half holiday is granted on every *Amavasya* day. Wages are paid monthly and vary from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 per month. The employees get leave with pay for 15 days to about a month in the year.

Tailoring.

This is an important category of shops in Poona and it is estimated that there are about 550 tailoring shops in the City. The owners are Punjabis, Deccanis, Gujaratis, Muhammadans and Goanese Christians. The shops open between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. and close at 9 p.m. Including a rest interval of two hours, the assistants have to work for about 12 hours a day. Shops owned by Hindus are closed on every *Amavasya* day. There is no child labour in tailoring shops and the bulk of the employees are over 16 years of age. The workers in tailoring shops are generally on piece work and they are paid half the amount charged to customers. Their daily wages come to between annas 8 and Rs. 1-12-0 per day. Those employed on a monthly basis receive from Rs. 18 to Rs. 50 per month.

Restaurants.

These remain open from 5 a.m. to 1 a.m. and in some cases the closing hour is a little later being 1-30 a.m. Generally work is done by turns or in shifts and the employees have to work from 10 to 14 hours per day. There is a rest interval of two to three hours per day. All the assistants

get free board and lodging. Wages of assistants vary from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8 per month. The age of assistants is from 9 onwards. There is considerable employment of children in restaurants.

Grain Shops.

These remain open from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. in the cold season and from 7-30 a.m. to 8 p.m. in summer. Many of these shops are both wholesale and retail. The age of the employees is generally above 15. There are no holidays nor are the shops closed on festivals. There is a rest interval of one to two hours per day. The range of monthly wages is from Rs. 6 to Rs. 45. The first ten days of the month are busy days.

Pan-bidi Shops.

Bidi shops are more numerous than pan-bidi shops. While bidi shops require a license, the pan shops do not. There are more boys under 18 in pan shops than in bidi shops. Shops remain open from 7 a.m. to 9-30 p.m. A meal interval of one to one and a half hours is generally granted. Pan shops are often attached to restaurants and keep open longer. The busy hours for such shops are 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. The wages of assistants vary from Rs. 2 with free meals to Rs. 6 without meals per month. There are no holidays or leave.

Cycles.

There are about 200 cycle shops in Poona City. Shops are open from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. There is a rest interval of one to two hours. Wages are paid monthly and vary from Rs. 8 to Rs. 40 per month. There are no children under 12 employed in such shops. Leave with pay is granted for two weeks in a year.

Stationery.

It is reported that there are about 200 stationery shops in Poona City. The owners are Deccanis, Bohras and Muhammadans. June is the busiest month in the year as that is the time when most of the schools and colleges reopen after their vacations. The busy hours are from 4 p.m. to 9 p.m. The shops remain open from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. A rest interval of two to three hours is given. Wages vary from Rs. 10 to Rs. 40 per month. Leave with pay for 15 days per year is granted.

Florists.

Poona is known for its flowers and there are quite a large number of florists in Poona City. Florists' shops remain open from 7 a.m. to 9-30 p.m. A certain amount of child labour is to be found in such shops. There is a rest interval of two hours for mid-day meals. The busy hours are from 7-30 to 9-30 in the morning and 4-30 to 7-30 in the evening. The busy months in the year are March, April, May and June. Some of the employees are paid overtime for extra attendance.

Among the remaining categories of shops those selling caps, trunks and umbrellas, provisions, gold and silver-ware, opium, brass and copper-ware, foot-ware, etc. and chemists and drugists shops are of some importance. The table in the appendix summarises the position of conditions of work and wages in some categories of retail shops in Poona City.

In the cantonment, shops generally open between 8 and 9 a.m. and close at 9 p.m. with a rest interval of a half to 1½ hours. Some of the shops are closed for half a day on Sundays. Restaurants generally open at 5 a.m. and close at 1 or 2 a.m. Restaurants closing after mid-night have usually two shifts. Few children are employed in them.

There are about 11 retail shop-keepers' associations in Poona.

Table XIII in Appendix B contains details regarding wages, interval etc.

Sholapur.

According to the 1931 Census, the population of Sholapur was reported to be 135,574. Here again no reliable information regarding the total number of shops is available but it is estimated that there are over two thousand retail shops. The bulk of the shops are to be found in the grain and provision, cloth and clothing and firewood and charcoal categories. The following table summarises the position as regards conditions of work and wages in certain categories of shops in Sholapur City :—

Category of shop.	Opening hour.	Closing hour.	Interval.	Hours of work.
Grain and provision ..	7-30 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	1 to 2 hours.	10
Cloth and clothing ..	8 a.m. ..	9 to 11 p.m. ..	1 to 2 hours by turns.	....
Fuel and firewood ..	7-30 a.m. ..	8 p.m. ..	1 to 1½ hours.	....
Sweetmeats	8 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	1 to 1½ hours.	....
Vegetables	7 a.m. ..	8 p.m. ..	4½ hours ..	....
Milk	5-30 a.m. ..	11-30 p.m. ..	1 hour ..	10 to 14.
Pan-bidi	....	....	....	10 to 14.
Hair cutting saloons ..	5-30 a.m. to 6 a.m.	8-30 p.m. to 9 p.m.	1 to 2 hours.	10 to 13.
Restaurants	5-30 a.m. ..	12-30 a.m. (up to 2-30 a.m. in some cases).	1 to 2 hours.	11 to 12 (in some cases 13 to 16) hours.

Category of shop.	Pay per month.	Holiday.	Remarks.
Grain and provision.	Rs. 8 to Rs. 15 ..	*Amavasya* is observed as a holiday.	
Cloth and clothing.	Rs. 8 to Rs. 30 (Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 for boys under 18).	*Amavasya* is observed as a half holiday.	
Fuel and firewood..	Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 ..	....	
Sweetmeats ..	Rs. 6 to Rs. 20 (Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 for boys under 18).	A few hours' leave is granted on *Amavasya* day.	
Vegetables ..	Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 (Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 for females and boys under 18).	....	These shops are kept closed in the afternoon from 11-30 a.m. to 4 p.m.
Milk ..	Rs. 8 to Rs. 20 ..	....	Some female and child labour is employed.
Pan-bidi ..	Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 ..	....	These shops generally do not employ paid assistants except for bidi making.
Hair cutting saloons	Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 ..	....	
Restaurants ..	Rs. 10 for adults and Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 for boys under 12.	....	In some restaurants there is a system of shifts. Boys from 7 years of age are employed.

There are, in Sholapur City, five cotton mills and other 11 regulated factories. Sholapur has thus a large industrial population. The busy hours and days for shops therefore coincide with free hours for industrial workers and days which are declared holidays for them.

Hubli.

According to the 1931 population Census, the population of Hubli was 89,982. Hubli is a town of considerable industrial and commercial importance. It has two cotton mills, several gins and presses and a railway workshop belonging to the M. & S. M. Railway. The town is divided into six municipal divisions called *peths*. There are not many shops in old Hubli and the bulk of the retail shops are concentrated in new Hubli. The following are the important categories of retail shops : cloth and clothing, tailoring, bidi and pansupari, restaurants, stationery, chemists and druggists, motor accessories, footwear, provisions, fruits, grain, flowers, caps, hardware, sarafi, books and copper and brassware. No accurate information as regards the total number of retail shops in Hubli is available but it is estimated by the municipal authorities that there are 200 grocers' shops, 50 stationers' shops, 50 copper and brassware shops, 150 sarafi shops, 200 clothing shops, 200 tailoring shops and 500 restaurants.

Cloth and Clothing.

The owners of these shops are generally Jain Marwaris, Deccanis, Lingayats, Muhammadans and Khatris. The shops remain open from 8 a.m. to 8-30 p.m. The majority of these shops employ between one and six assistants. A rest interval of between two and two and a half hours is granted. Wages are paid either monthly or annually. Monthly wages range from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 and yearly wages from Rs. 75 to Rs. 400. In some shops, particularly those owned by Marwari Jains, the assistants get boarding and lodging from their employers and are paid annually. The majority of cloth shopowners are Lingayats. The busy hours are between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. The busy season is in the months of May, June and July. In some shops the assistants are paid a small bonus on holidays like Diwali.

Bidi and Pansupari.

These shops remain open between 6-30 or 7 a.m. and 10-30 p.m. The age of shop assistants is generally above 16. The monthly wage varies from Rs. 6 to Rs. 14. In some cases the shopowners employ their own relatives as assistants. There is a rest interval of between 1½ and two hours. As in Bombay and Poona, in Hubli also pan-bidi shops are attached to restaurants. Shops near theatres close late at night. Shops closing after 9 p.m. require a license.

Restaurants.

Restaurants and boarding houses in Hubli wanting to keep open after 9 p.m. are required to take out a license. Restaurants open between 5-30 a.m. and 6 a.m. Assistants in restaurants get free boarding and lodging in addition to their monthly wages. The hours of work in restaurants for assistants are between 13 and 14 a day and the rest interval is one of 2½ to 3 hours. A certain amount of child labour is in evidence in restaurants. The monthly pay of assistants varies from Rs. 4 to Rs. 12. Restaurants which remain open till midnight often have a shift or turn system.

Provisions.

Many of the provision shops are run by the owners themselves. These shops remain open between 6-30 or 7 a.m. and 9-30 or 10 p.m. The rest interval is about two hours. Jain assistants in provision shops are paid Rs. 75 to Rs. 300 per annum in addition to boarding and lodging while non-Jain assistants receive from Rs. 3 to Rs. 15 per month. A few of the assistants in provision shops are below the age of 12. In Jain shops, assistants get a holiday on Jain festivals while the non-Jains get half a day on all festival days. Some of the assistants get leave with pay for one or two weeks in the year.

Sarafi Shops.

There is no child labour in sarafi shops. The shops remain open from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. and there is a rest interval of about two hours.

Wages vary from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300 per annum and are paid yearly. These shops appear to remain open throughout the year.

In addition to the enquiries made by the lady investigator of the Labour Office, the President of the Hubli Municipality was kind enough to supply detailed information relating to about 150 shops in Hubli. The figures regarding the opening and closing hours supplied by the President of the Municipality are given below by categories of shops :—

Category of shop.	Hour of opening.	Hour of closing.
Grocery and provisions	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Cloth and clothing	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Tailoring	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Restaurants	6-7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Metals and hardware	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Chemists	8 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Books and stationery	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.
Miscellaneous	7 a.m. ..	9 p.m.

It would appear that except in the case of shops which require a license for remaining open after 9 p.m., all other categories of shops close by that hour.

The hour of opening is usually 7 a.m. with the exception of restaurants and sweetmeat shops. A very large majority or nearly 89 per cent. of the shops remain open for 14 to 15 hours. Almost all categories of shops are busy for about five to six hours in the day. Although there is a certain amount of child labour employed in certain types of shops, the vast bulk of shop employees are adults over 18 years of age.

CHAPTER VI.

STUDY OF COMPARATIVE LEGISLATION FOR THE REGULATION OF CONDITIONS OF WORK IN SHOPS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to his Bill Mr. Bakhale refers to the long working hours in retail shops in India and to the absence of properly regulated rest periods for employees and states that the Bill seeks to remove this evil. The preceding chapters were devoted to an examination of the conditions of employment in the retail trade in the various centres to which the Bill is intended to be applied. An attempt is made in the paragraphs that follow to consider some of the principal provisions of the Bill in relation to similar provisions in the legislation of other countries.

Employment of Children and Young Persons.

One of the ways in which the Bill seeks to regulate the conditions of employment in retail shops is by prohibiting the employment of children under 12 years of age and by limiting the hours of work of young persons under the age of 18 years. As regards the employment of children, few countries make special provision in this behalf in their shops' legislation, presumably because other Acts regulate the conditions of their employment generally. A few Acts, however, do contain express provisions prohibiting the employment of children below certain specified ages. Thus the Factory, Shop and Office Building Act in the province of Ontario in Canada prohibits the employment of all children under 14 years of age. In Belgium, children under the age of 14 years are not to be employed, while in the Netherlands children under the age of 14 years or those that are bound to attend school must not perform any work.

With regard to the employment of "young persons", Mr. Bakhale's Bill seeks to limit their hours of work to 70 per week including intervals for meals. In Great Britain, these were 74 per week according to the Shops Act of 1912, but the new Shops Act of 1934 reduced the hours for young persons to 48, with the proviso that up to the 27th December 1936 they were to be 52 per week. The new Act permits overtime for "young persons" between 16 and 18, subject to a maximum of 50 working hours in a year or 12 working hours in a week in the six weeks during which overtime is permitted. The Act further provides that a young person employed about the business of a shop shall have an interval of at least 11 hours in every 24 which must include the hours from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., except in the case of males between 16 and 18 engaged in the delivery of milk, bread or newspapers when the complete stop period may be from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. The provisions relating to hours are made applicable both to young persons in shops and in street trading or trading from vans. The provisions of the Shops Act, 1912 relating to half holidays and to intervals for meals have been extended by the 1934 Act to all young

persons in retail trade and the 1912 Act has been amended so as to secure that young persons shall not be employed for more than five hours on ordinary working days or 5½ hours on the day of the weekly half holiday without an interval for meals. In Jamaica, no person under the age of 15 is to be employed in or about any shop for a longer period than 42 hours including meal times in any week. No female under the age of 16 years is to be employed in the Cape of Good Hope in or about any shop after 5 o'clock in the evening between 1st April and 30th September, and after 6 p.m. during the other months of the year. According to the draft Japanese Bill, in shops where more than 100 persons are regularly employed, young persons under the age of 16 years and women must not be employed for more than 10 hours a day including a break of at least thirty minutes and must be given four days' rest per month. In the Netherlands, a young person is prohibited from being employed in a shop between 8 p.m. and 8 a.m. and on Sundays.

Closing Hours.

The Bombay Shops Bill follows the model of the English Shops Act and proposes certain hours for the closing of shops. These are to be 9 p.m. on the "late" day and 8 p.m. on the other days of the week except on the weekly half holiday. In the case of restaurants, the closing hours are to be 10 o'clock in the evening on one day and half past nine on other days. Similar provision is made for shops dealing in tobacco and smoking requisites under certain conditions and power is granted to the local authority to grant exemption from closing hours in the case of exhibitions or shows.

With the exception of England, the practice of fixing the closing hour only is adopted by only a few countries such as the Irish Free State and Roumania, and by some Cantons in Switzerland. The closing hour in the Irish Free State is 8 p.m. and in Roumania 7 p.m. for certain categories of shops and 8 p.m. for others. In Danzig the closing time is generally 6 p.m. The proposed Japanese law on the subject fixes the closing hour at 10 p.m. during the period from 1st April to 30th September and at 9 p.m. in other months. The draft law regulating employment in commercial establishments in Egypt lays down that shops shall close at 8 p.m. in summer and 7–30 p.m. in winter, the closing time being half an hour later in certain cases such as grocers' and greengrocers' shops. Restaurants, cafes, etc. are allowed to remain open until the hour authorised by the police. In Kenya the local authority is allowed to fix the closing hours for shops. These must not, however, be earlier than 4 p.m. and later than 4–30 p.m. In the Province of Cape of Good Hope in South Africa also it is left to the local authority to specify the closing hour which must not, however, be later than 9 p.m.

A large number of countries having legislation for regulations of conditions in shops lay down both the hours of opening and of closing. There is, however, no uniformity of practice in this respect. In Austria, the hours are 5 a.m. and 7 p.m., in Czechoslovakia 5 a.m. and 8 p.m.,

in Germany 7 a.m. and 7 p.m., in Hungary 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. and in Poland 5 a.m. and 9 p.m. In Cuba shops can remain open between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. The general hours of opening and closing in Jamaica are 8 a.m. and 4 p.m., while in Tanganyika they are 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. respectively.

The variations suggested in the Bill in regard to the closing hours on different days of the week are also to be found in the laws of some other countries. Apart from England, which has the same system as that proposed in the Bill, the Irish Free State, Denmark, Jamaica and the States of Victoria and New South Wales in Australia are among those which provide for different closing hours on different days of the week. In the Irish Free State the closing hours for drapers, tailors, hatters, etc., are 6 p.m. on the first four days of the week and 6–30 p.m. on Fridays. In Denmark all shops have to close at 6 p.m. on the first four days and at 7 p.m. on Fridays. The closing hours in New South Wales are 6 p.m. on the first four days and 10 p.m. on Fridays. In Jamaica no assistant is to be employed after 6 p.m. on Saturday and 4 p.m. on other week days except Wednesday.

Several countries have also special regulations in force regarding the closing hours of certain types of shops. They generally apply to food shops and in particular to certain branches such as bakers' shops, pastrycooks, confectioners, etc. In Austria and Roumania, for example, where the general closing hour is 7 p.m., the closing hour for food shops is 8 p.m. In Denmark, pastrycooks, bakeries and dairies close at 8 p.m. instead of 7 p.m. as in the case of other shops. The draft law in Egypt proposes to retard the closing hour in the case of grocers', butchers', and tobacco shops by half an hour.

In some countries variations in the opening and closing hours of shops are based on the location of the shops as well. Thus, in the State of Victoria in Australia a distinction is drawn between shops in the metropolitan district and those outside it. Some of the Cantons in Switzerland have different closing hours for rural communes. In Finland where the general opening and closing hours are 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. shops in the country can remain open from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. in summer.

The seasonal distinction made in Finland is also to be found in Greece, Egypt, Japan and some other countries, the hours usually being longer in summer than in winter. In Greece, the opening and closing hours are 6 a.m. and 9-30 p.m. in summer as against 7 a.m. and 9 p.m. in winter. The proposed Japanese law on the subject fixes the closing hour at 10 p.m. from 1st April to 30th September and at 9 p.m. during other months of the year. In Egypt it is proposed to close shops at 8 p.m. in summer and 7-30 p.m. in winter.

Hours of Work.

Besides fixing the opening and closing hours of shops, legislation in many other countries also limits the working hours of shop assistants. In Danzig, for example, the working hours of the assistants must not

exceed 8 per day or 48 in a week. In Kenya no assistant can be made to work for more than 50 hours per week or 9 per day. Cuba limits the daily hours to 8, while in Tanganyika and the British Honduras the maximum weekly hours of work are 54 and 45 respectively. In Egypt it is proposed to limit the general working hours of assistants to 9 per day. In Belgium, where the hours of work are ordinarily limited to 8 per day and 48 in a week, shopkeepers are permitted to extend the daily hours to 9 in certain circumstances.

Closing Days.

The Bill provides for the compulsory closing of shops (with certain exceptions) on one day of the week and lays down that shop assistants shall be permitted to leave their work at 1-30 p.m. on at least one day of the week. It is interesting to note in this connection the practice followed by other countries. In England, the practice is as proposed in the Bill. In the State of Victoria in Australia, all shops, with certain exceptions, are required to be closed at 1 p.m. on Saturdays. In New South Wales, a similar practice obtains. In the province of Saskatchewan in Canada, shops in cities with a population of over seven thousand persons must be closed, subject to certain conditions, not later than 12 noon on Wednesdays every week between 1st April and 31st August. In Jamaica, there is a compulsory closure of shops at 2 p.m. on every Wednesday. The law in the Cape of Good Hope orders the compulsory closure of shops on Saturdays at 1 p.m. In the League of Nations Mandated Territory of South West Africa, shops, with certain exceptions, are to be closed not later than 1-30 p.m. Saturdays. The proposed laws of Egypt and Japan do not contain provision for a weekly half holiday; but the Egyptian law proposes closure for one whole day every week, while the Japanese Bill proposes a day's closure once a month.

On the analogy of the English law on the subject provision has been made in the Bill to extend the statutory hours to enable assistant to serve customers who are in the shop at the closing hour. Such provision is also to be found in the laws of many other countries of the world. While the Austrian, Basle Town, Czechoslovak, German, Irish and Polish Acts fix no limit, the Danish, Greek and the Spanish Acts lay down a limit of fifteen minutes, ten minutes and half an hour respectively. In Jamaica also the limit to which the closing hour can be exceeded is half an hour.

Rest Intervals.

Another provision in the Bill relates to intervals for meals which are to be so arranged as to secure that no person shall be employed for more than six hours without an interval of at least twenty minutes being allowed during the course thereof. Where employment includes certain hours in the afternoon or evening, an interval of not less than one hour is to be allowed between the afternoon hours for dinner and an interval of not less than half an hour is to be allowed between the evening hours for tea. The interval for dinner is to be increased to 1½ hour in cases where

the meal is not taken in the shop. The provision is not applicable to those persons who are members of the family of the shopkeeper maintained by him and residing in his house. The proposed Egyptian law provides for a rest interval of at least one hour during the day. In Greece, an interval of not less than two hours in summer and 1½ hours in winter must be granted to employees. In Kenya, where the provisions for intervals are on lines similar to those of Mr. Bakhale's Bill, the meal interval is to be three-quarters of an hour to be increased to one hour when the meal is taken outside. The province of Ontaria in Canada provides for an interval of not less than one hour for every youth, young girl or woman and such interval is not be counted as part of the time limited for the employment of such persons. In Japan in shops where more than 100 persons are regularly employed, young persons under the age of 16 years and women are allowed a break of at least thirty minutes for meals. In the Mandated Territory of Tanganiyaka the period of daily employment for shop assistants is between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m., but no shop assistant is to be employed continuously for more than 5 hours without an interval for rest or meals. The interval for meals must not be less than two hours every day, of which one hour at least must be before 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Enforcement of the Law.

No less important than the regulation of conditions of work in shops is the enforcement of such regulations and most laws relating to shops make provision for it. On the analogy of Great Britain, Mr. Bakhale's Bill imposes the duty of enforcing the Act on the local authorities who are permitted to appoint inspectors for the purpose. These inspectors are to be given powers and duties in relation to shops which are conferred on factory inspectors in respect of factories and workshops by the Indian Factories Act. The local authority is also responsible for the administration of the Act in the Irish Free State. In Spain where the labour inspectors are ordinarily charged with the duty of enforcing the law, the municipal authority is to enforce it, so far as itinerant traders are concerned. Sweden is another European country where the municipal authority is one of the bodies responsible for the enforcement of the law. By the Shops Hours Ordinance of 1930 municipal authorities are entrusted with the duty of enforcing the Ordinance in the Cape of Good Hope in the Union of South Africa. Where, however, no inspectors are appointed by the municipal councils, any person duly authorised by the administrator or any police authority is permitted to enforce the Ordinance. Other instances of the local authority being entrusted with this work are Natal, the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya and the League of Nations Mandated Territory of South West Africa.

More often, however, it is the business of the factory or industrial or labour inspectorate to enforce the law. This is the case in Canada, Finland, Greece, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Germany, many of the Cantons in Switzerland, the Netherlands and the various States in Australia.

In many cases, however, although the actual work of inspection is carried out by the factory inspectors, the authorities made responsible under the law for its enforcement are the Ministers of Government. Thus, in Austria it is the Minister of Social Administration who is responsible for the enforcement of the regulations. In Czechoslovakia it is the Minister of Commerce, but he has to consult the Minister of the Interior in the first instance. In Greece, the Minister of Social Economy is entrusted with the duty of enforcing the Act. The Hungarian Act makes the Minister of Commerce responsible while the Minister of Industries, Labour and Social Welfare is responsible in Belgium. The draft law regulating employment in commercial establishments in Egypt makes the Ministers of Commerce and Industries and of Justice the administrators of the proposed law. France, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ecuador are some of the other countries which also directly place the responsibility on a Minister. In the Orange Free State it is the administrator appointed under the South African Act who enforces the law through shop and restaurant inspectors.

In some countries the police are entrusted with this task either alone or in addition to other authorities. This is so in Danzig, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Poland and a few other countries. In the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika, the Ordinance can be enforced only by officers not below the rank of assistant inspectors.

The Labour Directorate in Roumania, the Compulsory Social Insurance and Provident Institution and the administrative authorities in Portugal and the provincial authorities in Sweden are some of the other agencies entrusted with the administration of such laws.

CHAPTER VII.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The results of the enquiries made in the five centres of the Bombay Presidency in connection with the conditions of work and wages of shop assistants are briefly summarised below.

1. No accurate information as regards the total number of retail shops is available in any of these centres. It is estimated by the municipal authorities that in Bombay City the number is about 30 to 40 thousand. The total number of shop assistants employed would roughly be about 75 thousand to one lakh. The enquiry made by the Labour Office covered 3,506 retail shops employing 10,212 assistants. Thus, in Bombay City, a sample of about 10 per cent. of the shops and of over 12 per cent. of the assistants was obtained.

It is estimated that in Ahmedabad there are about eight thousand retail shops and the number of assistants employed is about 16 thousand.

The estimated number of retail shops in Sholapur is over two thousand. No reliable estimate of the number of shops or of assistants is available for Poona and Hubli although in the latter case, in the opinion of the Hubli Municipality, the number of retail shops is about 1,500.

2. The principal categories of retail shops in Bombay City are restaurants, pan-bidi shops, grain and provision stores and cloth and clothing shops. This is also the case in the other centres. In Poona City, florists' shops, and, in Hubli, sarafi shops are also of importance.

3. Of the retail shops in Bombay City, 13·78 per cent. are run by owners themselves, 4·93 per cent. are run by owners and their relatives and, in 65·09 per cent. paid assistants are employed. In the remainder there is a combination of all these. Statistical information on this subject is not available for the other centres but it is believed that so far as Ahmedabad is concerned, the proportion of shops in which relatives are employed would not exceed 6 per cent. of the total. In Poona, Sholapur and Hubli, the practice of employing relatives does not appear to be very common.

4. So far as paid shop assistants are concerned, the living-in system prevails mostly in restaurants, boarding houses and in hotels. In Bombay City, of the total shop assistants (excluding relatives), 35·8 per cent. were provided with board and lodging by their owners. In Ahmedabad, only in the case of boarding houses and hotels is the practice of supplying assistants with board and lodging universal. In most of the restaurants, board and lodging is not provided. Detailed information on this point is not available for the other centres.

5. There is a considerable diversity of practice as regards the hours of opening and closing in the different categories of shops. In Bombay City and Ahmedabad, restaurants and pan-bidi shops are the first to open and the last to close, the normal opening and closing hours being 5 to

6 a.m. and 12 p.m. to 1 a.m. respectively. Cloth and clothing shops, both in Bombay and Ahmedabad, open at 8 a.m. or thereabouts and close between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. Grocery and provision shops usually open between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. and close between 9 p.m. and 10 p.m. Chemists' and druggists' shops, and cycle and motor accessories shops remain open for 10 to 11 hours, the opening hour being between 8 and 9 a.m.

6. Unlike workers in factories, assistants in retail shops do not have rest intervals at specified hours nor is the period of the interval uniform. Such intervals ordinarily vary from one to three hours. They are taken by turns and are granted at the convenience of the owner.

7. The average hours of work of shop assistants in Bombay City are 12·25 per day. The predominant range of the hours of work in restaurants, *pan-bidi* shops, grain and provision stores and cloth and clothing shops is 10 to 15, 9 to 16, 12 to 15, and 10 to 13 respectively. The daily hours of work in Bombay City are longest in vegetable shops (14·51) and shortest in books and stationery shops (10·24). In some restaurants and *pan-bidi* shops, the shift system prevails to a certain extent. The hours of work in restaurants and *pan-bidi* shops in Ahmedabad are longer than in most other types of concerns, being 12 to 16 and 9 to 12 per day respectively. In Ahmedabad, too, the hours in vegetable shops are very long being 14 to 15 per day. The longest hours in Ahmedabad, namely, 14 to 16 per day are however to be found in hair-cutting saloon.

For Poona, Sholapur and Hubli no reliable information on the subject is available; but it would appear that except in the case of restaurants and *pan-bidi* shops, the hours of work in other categories of shops are lower than in Bombay and Ahmedabad.

8. No regular weekly holiday is granted in any of the shops in Bombay City, although chemists and druggists, dealers in motor accessories and hardware shops grant a half holiday on Sundays. Some shops in certain classes of trade such as the grain and cloth trade, remain closed on the *Amavasya* day. There is, however, no uniformity of practice in this respect. Certain trades observe certain public holidays falling on Hindu, Muhammadan or Jain festival days. Otherwise the shops are open all the days of the year.

Owing to the system of *pakie* which seems a special feature of Ahmedabad (although it is not altogether absent in Bombay) some of the important categories of retail shops there close on 30 to 40 days in the year. Details regarding this system have been discussed in the section dealing with Ahmedabad. In trades in which no trade organisations exist, the shops usually remain open practically throughout the year. Restaurants and *pan-bidi* shops almost invariably do.

9. With few exceptions, there is no system of granting leave with pay in retail shops either in Bombay or in Ahmedabad. Ordinarily the grant of leave depends on the individual caprice of the proprietor.

10. The enquiry shows that in the retail trade of Bombay City very few children (under 12) are employed as shop assistants, the percentage of such children to the total number of shop assistants being less than one. On the other hand, it is reported that child labour is much more in evidence in Ahmedabad shops, the estimate being that they form over 12 per cent. of the total number of shop assistants. The bulk of these children are employed in restaurants. The number of young persons between the ages of 12 and 18 employed in shops in Bombay is about 10 per cent. of the total and the majority of such young persons are employed in restaurants. In Ahmedabad it is estimated that the proportion of children and young persons in shops is about the same, being 12 per cent. of the total in each case.

11. A consideration of the wage position in shops is a matter of much difficulty because in some of the principal categories wages are paid both in money and in kind, the latter taking the form of free board and lodging. Of the 9,383 assistants for whom information is available for Bombay City, 6,019 or 64·15 per cent. are in receipt of wages only and 3,364 or 35·85 per cent. are in receipt of wages and free board and/or lodging. Of those in receipt of money wages only, less than 10 per cent. receive a monthly wage of under Rs. 15, over 66 per cent. are in receipt of a wage between Rs. 15 and Rs. 45 and the remainder receive more than Rs. 45. Of the shop assistants who are supplied with board and lodging in addition to their wages, 55·27 per cent. earn less than Rs. 15 per month, 42·69 per cent. between Rs. 15 and Rs. 45 per month and the rest above that. Wages in certain trades e.g. cloth and clothing, chemists' shops, liquor shops, etc. are much higher than in others such as restaurants, pan-bidi shops, etc.

In contrast to Bombay, the period of wage payment most prevalent in Ahmedabad is the yearly and not the monthly.

An examination of the wages paid to shop assistants both in Bombay and Ahmedabad suggests that these do not compare unfavourably with the wages of skilled industrial workers in the Presidency although it is not possible to make any direct comparison as the work of the two classes is so dissimilar.

Of the shop assistants in Bombay, 86·92 per cent. are paid monthly, 7·62 per cent. daily and 5·46 per cent. yearly. Those on a yearly basis of pay are mostly to be found in grain shops and those on a daily basis in *bidi* and *pan-supari* shops. Most of those on a yearly basis of pay are supplied with board and lodging by the shopkeepers. Among the monthly paid employees, assistants in restaurants and assistants in milk and sweetmeat shops are usually provided with board and lodging.

12. Chapter VI of the report contains a study of the comparative legislation for the regulation of conditions of work in shops in various countries of the world. The matters dealt with refer in particular to the prohibition of the employment of children under 12, the regulation of the hours of work of young persons, opening and closing hours of shops, early closing on certain days, the regulation of rest intervals and the administration of such laws.

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APPENDIX A.

Specimen Form of Enquiry.

ENQUIRY RELATING TO RETAIL SHOPS IN BOMBAY CITY.

Type of concern

Name of concern or of owner

Address

Is the shopowner in favour of the Bill ?

Hour at which shop is opened

Hour at which shop is closed

(If shop is closed in the afternoon and reopened later in the day give details regarding the interval)

What are the busy hours and days ?

Number of persons working in the shop including (*a*) owner, (*b*) relatives and (*c*) paid assistants.

——	Number of persons.	Age* and sex.	Community.
Owner or owners ..			
Relative or relatives (give relationship).			
Paid assistants ..			

*Here state how many below 12, between 12 and 18 and over 18.

From what hour to what hour are the shop assistants expected to be on duty in the shop ?

If any rest intervals are given, give details.

The number of days the shop is closed in the month.

Number of holidays granted per month to the paid assistants. State with or without pay.

Is leave granted ? If so, on what conditions.

Wages of shop assistants—Give details in the sheet attached.

Whether wages are paid on a monthly or on a longer basis. Give details.

State whether any of the (*a*) relatives or (*b*) assistants live on the premises or board and lodge with the owner.

(*a*)

(*b*)

WAGES OF SHOP ASSISTANTS.

Serial No.	Wages.	Remarks*.

*This should include remarks regarding the wage-period, amenities such as board, lodging, bonuses, special concessions, long-term contracts, etc.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX

TABLE

Personnel of Retail Shops

Type of Shop.	Number visited.	Total							
		Owners or Partners.		Relatives.					
				Below 12.		12–18.		Over 18.	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Grocery and Provision ..	536	772	7	1	..	17	..	97	2
Cloth and Clothing	480	617	2	1	..	5	..	44	..
Restaurants	314	348	3	..	..	7	..	56	3
Bidis and Pansupari ..	282	198	25	1	..	3	..	17	1
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	182	228	1	..	..	8	..	34	1
Tailoring Shops	180	244	3	..	..	12	..	24	..
Metals and Hardware ..	165	213	1	1	..	2	..	24	..
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	156	83	1	..	..	1	..	56	..
Charcoal and Firewood ..	117	108	1	..	..	..	..	12	..
Vegetables and Fruit ..	103	112	5	..	..	2	..	6	2
Leather Goods	89	121	..	..	..	..	..	15	1
Gold and Silver ware ..	80	76	1	1	..	1	..	13	..
Cycle, Motor Spare Parts and Electric ware etc. ..	74	86	..	..	..	..	..	19	..
Books and Stationery ..	60	67	..	1	..	2	..	17	..
Laundries	57	58	..	..	..	..	..	8	..
Chemicals	48	64	1	..	..	..	..	12	..
Miscellaneous	583	718	7	2	..	8	3	77	4
Total ..	3,506	4,113	58	8	..	69	3	531	14

B.

No. I.

in Bombay City.

number of Paid Assistants.						Cases in which information re.: age and sex was not available.	Total number of paid assistants.	Total persons.
Below 12		12–18.		Over 18.				
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females			
2	..	41	..	844	1	....	888	1,784
5	..	60	..	1,312	..	....	1,377	2,046
74	..	611	..	1,558	4	....	2,247	2,664
..	..	21	1	609	343	35	1,009	1,254
2	..	31	..	438	1	....	472	744
2	..	59	..	432	1	....	494	777
..	..	17	..	308	..	....	325	566
..	..	3	..	676	..	....	679	820
..	..	5	..	150	..	....	155	276
..	..	7	..	116	1	....	124	251
..	..	6	..	171	..	....	177	314
..	..	7	..	183	..	....	190	282
..	..	10	..	245	..	....	255	360
..	..	3	..	129	..	....	132	219
1	..	7	..	146	..	....	154	221
..	..	7	..	239	1	....	247	324
4	..	63	..	1,193	27	....	1,287	2,106
90	..	958	1	8,749	379	35	10,212	15,008

TABLE

Classification of Retail Shops according

Type of Shops.	Hindus.	Jains.
Grocery and Provision	204	225
Cloth and Clothing	311	27
Restaurants	177	5
Bidis and Pansupari	172	..
Milk and Sweetmeats	139	3
Tailoring	124	1
Metals and Hardware	61	11
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	24	..
Charcoal and Firewood	61	2
Vegetables and Fruit	71	1
Gold and Silverware	62	10
Leather Goods	49	..
Cycle, Motor Spareparts, Electricware, etc.	42	5
Books and Stationery	35	3
Laundries	33	..
Chemicals	32	1
Miscellaneous	271	28
Total ..	1,868	322
Percentage to total ..	53·28	9·18

No. II.

to Communities of Owners.

Muslims.	Parsis and Iranis.	Christians.	Others.	Imperfectly specified or unspecified.	Total.
64	20	..	..	23	536
91	11	5	..	35	480
34	49	7	..	42	314
23	1	3	..	83	282
16	5	1	..	18	182
16	..	34	..	5	180
80	3	..	..	10	165
..	47	5	..	80	156
36	2	1	..	15	117
23	4	..	..	4	103
2	1	..	..	5	80
31	2	2	2	3	89
15	6	1	..	5	74
12	1	5	..	4	60
6	6	6	..	6	57
2	5	3	..	5	48
178	42	15	1	48	583
629	205	88	3	391	3,506
17·94	5·85	2·51	0·09	11·15	..

TABLE

Classification of Shop Assistants

Type of Shops.	Hindus.	Jains.
Grocery and Provision	510	263
Cloth and Clothing	1,065	51
Restaurants	1,682	..
Bidis and Pansupari	961	..
Milk and Sweetmeats	449	1
Tailoring	228	4
Metals and Hardware	192	17
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	477	..
Charcoal and Firewood	122	2
Vegetables and Fruit	103	1
Gold and Silverware	155	17
Leather Goods	101	..
Cycle, Motor Spareparts, Electricware, etc.	215	1
Books and Stationery	95	1
Laundries	126	..
Chemicals	218	2
Miscellaneous	826	43
Total ..	7,525	403
Percentage to total ..	73·69	3·95

No. III.

according to Communities.

Muslims.	Parsis and Iranis.	Christians.	Others.	Imperfectly specified or unspecified.	Total.
81	26	2	..	6	888
218	5	32	..	6	1,377
432	54	58	..	21	2,247
42	..	6	..	..	1,009
15	5	1	..	1	472
72	..	180	..	10	494
107	..	..	..	9	325
..	77	97	..	28	679
31	..	..	..	..	155
20	..	..	..	..	124
12	2	1	..	3	190
63	..	4	5	4	177
24	1	3	..	11	255
21	..	10	..	5	132
8	3	17	..	..	154
5	3	15	..	4	247
313	51	29	2	23	1,287
1,464	227	455	7	131	10,212
14·34	2·22	4·45	0·07	1·28	100·00

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Actual

Type of Shop.	Hours				
	Below 8.	8 & below 9.	9 & below 10.	10 & below 11.	11 & below 12.
Grocery and Provision	2	7	2	55	74
Cloth and Clothing	11	35	108	260	576
Restaurants	1	68	136	279	459
Bidis and Pansupari	52	119	187	33	34
Milk and Sweetmeats	8	5	33	36	44
Tailoring	4	69	140	173	60
Metals and Hardware	3	2	28	101	114
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	36	58	151	137	32
Charcoal and Firewood	..	2	5	11	50
Vegetables and Fruit	..	..	12	2	1
Leather Goods	..	..	12	26	83
Gold and Silver ware	2	10	35	66	36
Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric ware, etc.	2	80	28	68	41
Books and Stationery	5	10	18	25	45
Laundries	..	..	15	25	64
Chemicals	17	71	15	77	43
Miscellaneous	94	72	235	204	261
Total ..	237	608	1,160	1,578	2,017
Percentage to total ..	2·32	5·95	11·36	15·45	19·75

No. IV.

Hours of Work of Shop Assistants in Bombay City.

of work.

12 & below 13.	13 & below 14.	14 & below 15.	15 & below 16.	16 & below 17.	17 & over.	Not specified.	Total.
169	216	177	108	57	17	4	888
268	80	29	2	4	..	4	1,377
406	155	215	173	163	161	31	2,247
114	59	83	184	103	34	7	1,009
73	64	76	43	38	47	5	472
23	18	1	..	3	..	3	494
32	27	5	11	2	..	..	325
143	95	24	3	..	..	..	679
36	30	17	3	1	..	..	155
10	4	8	67	20	..	..	124
41	7	4	3	..	..	1	177
13	5	9	12	..	2	..	190
19	5	7	4	1	..	..	255
5	..	7	2	..	..	15	132
29	14	4	1	..	..	2	154
11	5	7	..	..	1	..	247
117	115	105	51	17	3	13	1,287
1,509	899	778	667	409	265	85	10,212
14·78	8·80	7·62	6·53	4·01	2·60	0·83	

TABLE

Hours of Opening of Retail

Type of Shop.	Hour of			
	Between 3 & 4 A.M.	Between 4 & 5 A.M.	Between 5 & 6 A.M.	Between 6 & 7 A.M.
Grocery, Provision ..	....	12 (2·24)	44 (8·21)	313 (58·40)
Cloth and Clothing ..	....	....	....	15 (3·13)
Restaurants	....	9 (2·86)	179 (57·01)	79 (25·17)
Bidis and Pansupari ..	....	5 (1·77)	130 (46·10)	117 (41·50)
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	4 (2·20)	32 (17·58)	72 (39·56)	55 (30·22)
Tailoring	....	....	1 (0·56)	11 (6·11)
Metals and Hardware ..	....	....	3 (1·82)	17 (10·30)
Liquor, Toddy etc. ..	....	....	....	60 (38·46)
Charcoal and Firewood ..	....	....	2 (1·71)	50 (42·74)
Vegetables and Fruit ..	....	63 (61·17)	2 (1·94)	23 (22·33)
Leather Goods	....	....	1 (1·12)	3 (3·37)
Gold and Silverware ..	....	....	....	13 (16·25)
Cycle, Motor Spare parts, Electric ware &c. ..	....	....	....	2 (2·70)
Books and Stationery ..	....	....	....	1 (1·67)
Laundries	....	....	....	3 (5·26)
Chemicals	....	....	....	3 (6·25)
Miscellaneous	....	27 (4·63)	18 (3·09)	111 (19·04)
Total ..	4 (0·11)	148 (4·22)	452 (12·89)	876 (24·99)

Note.—The figures in bracket

*Including two chemists shops and three miscellaneous

No. V

Shops in Bombay City.

Opening.

Between 7 & 8 A.M.	Between 8 & 9 A.M.	Between 9 & 10 A.M.	Between 10 & 11 A.M.	After 11 A.M.	Total.
129 (24·06)	32 (5·97)	6 (1·12)	....	....	536
91 (18·96)	288 (60·00)	77 (16·04)	8 (1·66)	1 (0·21)	480
31 (9·87)	13 (4·13)	1 (0·32)	2 (0·64)	....	314
25 (8·86)	4 (1·42)	....	....	1 (0·35)	282
12 (6·59)	6 (3·30)	....	....	1 (0·55)	182
44 (24·44)	106 (58·89)	17 (9·44)	1 (0·56)	....	180
38 (23·03)	95 (57·57)	11 (6·67)	....	1 (0·61)	165
4 (2·57)	3 (1·92)	3 (1·92)	84 (53·85)	2 (1·28)	156
54 (46·15)	11 (9·40)	....	....	....	117
12 (11·65)	1 (0·97)	1 (0·97)	1 (0·97)	....	103
16 (17·98)	49 (55·06)	19 (21·35)	1 (1·12)	....	89
19 (23·75)	34 (42·50)	12 (15·00)	2 (2·50)	....	80
8 (10·81)	34 (45·95)	27 (36·49)	2 (2·70)	1 (1·35)	74
18 (30·00)	26 (43·33)	12 (20·00)	3 (5·00)	....	60
35 (61·40)	15 (26·32)	4 (7·02)	....	....	57
11 (22·92)	23 (47·92)	9 (18·75)	....	....	48*
128 (21·96)	189 (32·41)	91 (15·61)	11 (1·89)	5 (0·86)	583*
675 (19·25)	929 (26·50)	290 (8·27)	115 (3·28)	12 (0·34)	3,506*

denote percentages.

shops which were reported to be open day and night.

TABLE

Hours of Closing of Retail

Type of Shop	Hours of			
	Before 5 p.m.	Between 5 & 6 p.m.	Between 6 & 7 p.m.	Between 7 & 8 p.m.
Grocery and Provision ..	....	1 (0·19)	4 (0·75)	7 (1·31)
Cloth and Clothing ..	2 (0·42)	....	4 (0·83)	18 (3·75)
Restaurants	....	2 (0·64)	2 (0·64)	5 (1·59)
Bidis and Pansupari ..	....	....	....	2 (0·70)
Milk and Sweetmeats ..	5 (2·75)	....	3 (1·65)	5 (2·75)
Tailoring	....	....	7 (3·89)	21 (11·67)
Metals and Hardware ..	....	1 (0·61)	4 (2·42)	15 (9·09)
Liquor, Toddy, etc. ..	....	....	....	1 (0·64)
Charcoal and Firewood ..	....	....	8 (6·84)	28 (23·93)
Vegetables and Fruit ..	1 (0·97)	1 (0·97)	....	5 (4·85)
Leather Goods ..	....	....	1 (1·12)	7 (7·88)
Gold and Silverware ..	....	1 (1·25)	1 (1·25)	17 (21·25)
Cycle, Motor Spare parts Electricware, etc.	....	....	4 (5·41)	18 (24·33)
Books and Stationery ..	....	....	5 (8·34)	4 (6·66)
Laundries	....	....	....	7 (12·28)
Chemicals	....	....	1 (2·08)	....
Miscellaneous	....	3 (0·52)	19 (3·26)	88 (15·09)
Total ..	8 (0·23)	9 (0·26)	63 (1·80)	248 (7·07)

Note.—The figures in bracket

*Including two chemists' shops and three miscellaneous

No. VI.

Shops in Bombay City.

Closing.						Total
Between 8 & 9 p.m.	Between 9 & 10 p.m.	Between 10 & 11 p.m.	Between 11 & 12 p.m.	Between 12 & 1 a.m.	After 1 a.m.	
81	233	180	25	4	1	536
(15·11)	(43·46)	(33·58)	(4·66)	(0·75)	(0·19)	
197	167	69	20	3	..	480
(41·04)	(34·79)	(14·38)	(4·16)	(0·63)		
9	68	39	39	148	2	314
(2·87)	(21·65)	(12·42)	(12·42)	(47·13)	(0·64)	
1	9	26	74	158	12	282
(0·35)	(3·19)	(9·24)	(26·22)	(56·05)	(4·25)	
15	38	51	32	33	..	182
(8·24)	(20·87)	(28·03)	(17·58)	(18·13)		
81	49	19	1	2	..	180
(45·00)	(27·21)	(10·56)	(0·56)	(1·11)		
57	51	26	9	2	..	165
(34·54)	(30·91)	(15·75)	(5·46)	(1·22)		
1	138	....	14	2	..	156
(0·64)	(88·46)		(8·98)	(1·28)		
51	27	2	1	....	..	117
(43·59)	(23·07)	(1·71)	(0·86)			
72	16	6	2	....	..	103
(69·91)	(15·53)	(5·83)	(1·94)			
39	32	10	....	....	..	89
(43·82)	(35·95)	(11·23)				
36	8	9	7	1	..	80
(45·00)	(10·00)	(11·25)	(8·75)	(1·25)		
29	7	5	7	3	1	74
(39·19)	(9·46)	(6·75)	(9·46)	(4·05)	(1·35)	
29	17	5	....	....	..	60
(48·33)	(28·33)	(8·34)				
32	15	3	....	....	..	57
(56·15)	(26·31)	(5·26)				
21	20	4	....	....	..	48*
(43·75)	(41·67)	(8·33)				
216	145	81	20	8	..	583*
(37·05)	(24·87)	(13·89)	(3·43)	(1·37)		
967	1,040	535	251	364	16	3,506*
(27·58)	(29·66)	(15·26)	(7·16)	(10·38)	(0·46)	

denote percentages.

shops which were reported to be open day and night.

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Rest Intervals

Type of Shop	Less than 1 hour	1 to 2 hours
Grocery and Provision	17 (3·18)	190 (35·44)
Cloth and Clothing	6 (1·25)	238 (49·58)
Restaurants	14 (4·46)	68 (21·66)
Bidis and Pansupari	5 (1·77)	22 (7·80)
Milk and Sweetmeats	....	27 (14·83)
Tailoring	4 (2·22)	59 (32·78)
Metals and Hardware	4 (2·42)	61 (36·96)
Liquor, Toddy, etc.	2 (1·28)	44 (28·21)
Charcoal and Firewood	4 (3·42)	55 (47·01)
Vegetables and Fruit	1 (0·97)	57 (55·34)
Leather Goods	9 (10·11)	27 (30·34)
Gold and Silverware	2 (2·50)	26 (32·50)
Cycle, Motor Spare parts, Electric Ware, etc. ..	2 (2·70)	30 (40·54)
Books and Stationery	6 (10·00)	17 (28·34)
Laundries	4 (7·02)	28 (49·12)
Chemicals	1 (2·08)	14 (29·17)
Miscellaneous	24 (4·12)	208 (35·68)
All Shops	105 (3·00)	1,171 (33·40)

No. VII.

granted to Shop Assistants in Bombay City.

Rest interval.					Total
2 to 3 hours	3 to 4 hours	Above 4 hours	No interval	Imperfectly specified or unspecified	
155	21	4	22	127	536
(28·92)	(3·92)	(0·75)	(4·10)	(23·69)	
74	4	2	2	154	480
(15·42)	(0·83)	(0·42)	(0·42)	(32·08)	
78	27	16	11	100	314
(24·84)	(8·60)	(5·09)	(3·50)	(31·85)	
34	90	29	3	99	282
(12·06)	(31·92)	(10·28)	(1·06)	(35·11)	
43	26	23	4	59	182
(23·63)	(14·28)	(12·64)	(2·20)	(32·42)	
26	2	....	....	89	180
(14·44)	(1·11)			(49·45)	
21	3	2	3	71	165
(12·73)	(1·82)	(1·22)	(1·82)	(43·03)	
47	14	5	42	2	156
(30·13)	(8·98)	(3·20)	(26·92)	(1·28)	
25	3	....	3	27	117
(21·37)	(2·56)		(2·56)	(23·08)	
1	....	2	....	42	103
(0·97)		(1·94)		(40·78)	
8	....	....	....	45	89
(8·99)				(50·56)	
23	2	1	3	23	80
(28·75)	(2·50)	(1·25)	(3·75)	(28·75)	
13	3	....	2	24	74
(17·57)	(4·06)		(2·70)	(32·43)	
8	2	....	....	27	60
(13·33)	(3·33)			(45·00)	
3	1	....	2	19	57
(5·26)	(1·75)		(3·51)	(33·34)	
14	....	....	....	19	48
(29·17)				(39·58)	
83	7	8	16	237	583
(14·24)	(1·20)	(1·37)	(2·74)	(40·65)	
656	205	92	113	1,184	3,506
(18·71)	(5·85)	(2·62)	(3·22)	(33·20)	

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Monthly Earnings of of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown in Grocery and Provisions.					Cloth	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging
Below Rs. 5	2	1	..	..	3	1	..
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	1	15	..	1	17	15	4
„ 10 „ „ „ 15	8	26	..	..	34	28	0
„ 15 „ „ „ 20	49	18	1	1	69	83	7
„ 20 „ „ „ 25	56	3	..	3	62	131	6
„ 25 „ „ „ 30	54	3	..	1	58	123	2
„ 30 „ „ „ 35	55	2	2	1	60	148	1
„ 35 „ „ „ 45	54	2	1	4	61	215	3
„ 45 „ „ „ 55	12	..	..	..	12	180	1
„ 55 „ „ „ 65	8	..	..	..	8	68	..
„ 65 and over	16	..	9	..	25	95	..
Total ..	315	70	13‡	11	409	1,087*	33

Monthly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown in Bidis and Pansupari.					Milk	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging
Below Rs. 5	1	2	..	..	3	..	7
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	1	26	1	..	28	10	40
„ 10 „ „ „ 15	86	41	1	2	130	12	80
„ 15 „ „ „ 20	176	50	..	7	233	22	56
„ 20 „ „ „ 25	104	35	1	6	146	27	28
„ 25 „ „ „ 30	83	18	2	26	129	26	18
„ 30 „ „ „ 35	44	6	2	13	65	15	7
„ 35 „ „ „ 45	8	4	..	6	18	20	4
„ 45 „ „ „ 55	2	..	..	..	2	9	3
„ 55 „ „ „ 65	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
„ 65 and over	1	..	..	..	1	2	1
Total ..	506	182	7	60	755	145	244

No. VIII.

Assistants who are paid on a Monthly *basis.*

Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and Clothing.			Restaurants.					Remarks.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging ing.	Total.	
..	..	1	13	130	2	..	145	*4 Assistants are reported to be getting free boarding and lodging and four others are provided with free lodging only. †19 Assistants get one meal only. ‡In 13 cases one meal a day was provided.
1	..	20	100	569	35	1	705	
4	..	41	69	344	18	17	448	
2	..	92	41	264	19	8	332	
..	2	139	37	109	11	2	159	
3	2	130	28	73	6	2	109	
4	3	156	11	46	9	2	68	
5	1	224	8	23	4	2	37	
..	..	181	9	8	1	..	18	
..	1	69	4	3	..	..	7	
1	..	96	4	1	3	1	9	
20†	9	1,149	324	1,570	108	35	2,037	

Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and Sweetmeats.			Tailoring.					Remarks.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	
..	..	7	..	1	..	..	1	
4	..	54	8	2	..	..	10	
2	..	94	12	9	1	1	23	
..	8	86	18	2	..	1	21	
1	7	63	21	..	..	2	23	
..	2	46	23	1	..	1	25	
..	..	22	49	..	..	1	50	
..	2	26	84	1	..	..	85	
..	2	14	59	1	..	..	60	
..	..	2	58	..	..	..	58	
..	..	3	19	..	..	..	19	
7	21	417	351	17	1	6	375	

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Monthly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages						
	Metals and Hardware.					Liquor	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 5	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	3	6	..	..	9	5	5
Rs. 10 „ „ Rs. 15	8	9	1	..	18	24	18
Rs. 15 „ „ Rs. 20	24	5	..	..	29	66	12
Rs. 20 „ „ Rs. 25	22	2	1	..	25	117	6
Rs. 25 „ „ Rs. 30	29	1	1	..	31	78	4
Rs. 30 „ „ Rs. 35	47	2	3	..	52	84	4
Rs. 35 „ „ Rs. 45	33	2	5	..	40	60	7
Rs. 45 „ „ Rs. 55	27	..	3	..	30	53	2
Rs. 55 „ „ Rs. 65	9	..	..	..	9	27	..
Rs. 65 and over ..	16	1	1	..	18	52	..
Total ..	219	28*	15	..	262	566	58

Monthly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages						
	Vegetables and Fruits.					Leather	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	1	2	..	..	3	3	3
Rs. 10 „ „ Rs. 15	1	1	..	..	2	3	..
Rs. 15 „ „ Rs. 20	11	..	..	..	11	10	..
Rs. 20 „ „ Rs. 25	8	..	..	..	8	11	1
Rs. 25 „ „ Rs. 30	4	..	..	..	4	20	..
Rs. 30 „ „ Rs. 35	18	..	..	..	18	16	1
Rs. 35 „ „ Rs. 45	16	..	..	..	16	17	1
Rs. 45 „ „ Rs. 55	5	..	..	..	5	25	..
Rs. 55 „ „ Rs. 65	..	..	..	..	..	13	..
Rs. 65 and over ..	1	..	..	..	1	7	..
Total ..	65	3	..	..	68	125	6

No. VIII—*contd.*

Assistants who are paid on a Monthly *basis.*

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and Toddy Shops.			Charcoal and firewood.					Remarks.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	
..	..	..	..	3	..	..	3	*One meal only.
..	..	10	..	9	..	4	13	
4	..	46	8	6	1	2	17	†In five cases one meal only.
8	..	86	40	1	1	6	48	
1	..	124	8	..	..	7	15	
1	..	83	10	..	..	2	12	
3	..	91	4	..	..	..	4	
..	2	69	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	27	..	..	..	..	..	
..	..	52	..	..	..	..	..	
17†	2	643	70	19	2	21	112	

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Goods.			Gold and Silverware.					Remarks.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	‡One meal only in four cases and one meal and free tea in four other cases.
..	..	6	2	1	..	..	3	
1	..	4	1	..	..	..	1	
1	..	11	11	2	..	..	13	
1	2	15	15	1	..	..	16	
..	..	20	25	5	..	..	30	
2	..	19	19	3	..	..	22	
3	2	23	20	1	..	..	21	
4	2	31	14	1	..	..	15	
..	..	13	8	..	..	..	8	
..	..	7	16	..	..	..	16	
12‡	6	149	131	14	..	..	145	

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Monthly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown						
	Cycle, Motor spare parts, Electricware, etc.					Books	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	2	1	..	..	3	1	..
„ 10 „ „ „ 15	11	2	..	..	13	4	..
„ 15 „ „ „ 20	17	1	..	..	18	14	..
„ 20 „ „ „ 25	23	..	1	1	25	18	1
„ 25 „ „ „ 30	28	..	1	1	30	19	2
„ 30 „ „ „ 35	27	..	..	..	27	9	..
„ 35 „ „ „ 45	36	..	..	..	36	19	..
„ 45 „ „ „ 55	26	..	1 (B)	..	27	14	..
„ 55 „ „ „ 65	9	..	..	1	10	5	1
Rs. 65 and over ..	40	..	1 (B)	.. ..	41	8	..
Total ..	219	4	4	3	230	111	4

Monthly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown				
	Chemicals.				
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
Below Rs. 5	1	..	..	..	1
Rs. 5 and below Rs. 10	1	..	..	3	4
„ 10 „ „ „ 15	9	..	..	1	10
„ 15 „ „ „ 20	12	..	..	1	13
„ 20 „ „ „ 25	21	..	..	..	21
„ 25 „ „ „ 30	18	..	..	..	18
„ 30 „ „ „ 35	28	..	..	..	28
„ 35 „ „ „ 45	31	1	..	..	32
„ 45 „ „ „ 55	30	1	..	..	31
„ 55 „ „ „ 65	16	1	1(B)	..	18
Rs. 65 and over ..	34	..	..	..	34
Total ..	201	3	1(B)	5	210

No. VIII—*contd.*

Assistants who are paid on a Monthly *basis.*

in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and Stationery.			Laundries.					Remarks.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(A) This includes one part-time worker. (B) One meal only.
..	..	1	3(A)	..	..	1	4	
..	..	4	7	1	..	..	8	
..	..	14	8	3	..	..	11	
1(B)	..	20	7	..	..	..	7	
..	..	21	14	1	..	1	16	
..	..	9	21	..	..	..	21	
..	..	19	29	1	..	..	30	
..	..	14	33	..	..	1	34	
..	..	6	8	..	..	..	8	
..	..	8	4	..	..	..	4	
1	..	116	134	6	..	3	143	

in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Miscellaneous.					All Shops.	Percentage to total.	Remarks.
Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.			
3(A)	3	..	..	6	171	2·10	(A) Includes 2 cases of part-time assistants.
17	22	1	..	40	930	11·40	
50	22	1	..	73	966	11·84	
90	19	2	..	111	1,198	14·69	
90	16	3	2	111	979	12·00	
82	11	2	..	95	857	10·51	
141	8	3	1	153	865	10·61	
141	2	..	..	143	880	10·79	
68	..	1	..	69	598	7·33	
47	..	..	..	47	290	3·56	(B) One meal only.
88	..	..	..	88	422	5·17	
817	103	13	3	936	8,156	100·00	

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown						
	Grocery and Provisions.					Cloth	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below As. 8 ..	1	..	..	..	1	3	..
As. 8 and below As. 12	2	..	..	..	2	4	..
As. 12 „ „ Re. 1	6	..	..	..	6	..	..
Re. 1 „ „ Rs. 1½	5	..	..	..	5	25	..
Rs. 1½ „ „ Rs. 1¾	..	..	..	..	..	14	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 1¾	3	..	..	..	3	21	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 2	..	..	..	..	..	6	..
Rs. 2 and over ..	2	..	..	..	2	5	..
Total ..	19	..	..	..	19	78	..

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown						
	Bidi and Pansupari.					Milk	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below As. 8 ..	23	..	..	..	23	..	..
As. 8 and below As. 12	78	1	1	..	80	..	..
As. 12 „ „ Re. 1	62	..	..	..	62	5	..
Re. 1 „ „ Rs. 1½	31	..	..	..	31	1	..
Rs. 1½ „ „ Rs. 1¾	10	..	..	..	10	..	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 1¾	6	..	..	..	6	..	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Rs. 2 and over ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	211	1	1	..	213	6	..

No. IX.

Assistants who are paid on a Daily *basis.*

in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and C othing.			Restaurants.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	3	1	11	4	..	16
..	..	4	1	17	3	..	21
..	..	..	3	8	5	..	16
..	..	25	..	6	2	..	8
..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	78	5	42	14	..	61

in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

and Sweetmeats.			Tailoring.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
..	..	..	9	..	..	..	9
..	..	5	8	..	..	..	8
..	..	1	12	..	..	..	12
..	..	..	11	..	..	..	11
..	..	..	8	..	..	..	8
..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
..	..	..	7	..	..	..	7
..	..	6	60	1	..	..	61

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages						
	Metals and Hardware.					Liquor and	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below As. 8 ..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
As. 8 and below As. 12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
As. 12 „ „ Re. 1	1	1	..	..	2	..	..
Re. 1 „ „ Rs. 1¼	1	2	..	..	3	..	..
Rs. 1¼ „ „ Rs. 1½	1	1	..	..	2	..	..
Rs. 1½ „ „ Rs. 1¾	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 2 and over ..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Total ..	3	5	..	..	8	3	..

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages						
	Vegetables and Fruit.					Leather	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below As. 8 ..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
As. 8 and below As. 12	11	..	..	..	11	3	..
As. 12 „ „ Re. 1	15	..	..	..	15	4	..
Re. 1 „ „ Rs. 1¼	7	..	..	..	7	3	..
Rs. 1¼ „ „ Rs. 1½	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Rs. 1½ „ „ Rs. 1¾	1	..	..	..	1	3	..
Rs. 1¾ „ „ Rs. 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 2 and over ..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..
Total ..	35	..	..	..	35	18	..

No. IX—*contd.*

Assistants who are paid on a Daily *basis.*

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Toddy Shops.			Charcoal and Firewood.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	3	3	..	..	..	3
1	..	1	10	..	..	4	14
..	..	..	10	2	..	1	13
..	..	..	10	..	1	..	11
..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	..	4	35	2	1	5	43

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Goods.			Gold and Silverware.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
1(B)	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	3	1	..	..	..	1
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	4	1	..	..	..	1
1(B)	..	19	3	..	..	..	3

(B) One meal only.

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of Shop

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages						
	Cycle, Motor Spare Parts, Electric ware.					Books and	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below As. 8 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
As. 8 and below As. 12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
As. 12 ,, ,, Re. 1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Re. 1 ,, ,, Rs. 1½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 1½ ,, ,, Rs. 1½	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 1½ ,, ,, Rs. 1¾	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Rs. 1¾ ,, ,, Rs. 2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Rs. 2 and over ..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
Total ..	1	..	..	..	1	4	..

Daily Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages					
	Chemicals and Drugs.					
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.
Below As. 8 ..	..	..	..	..	..	19
As. 8 and below As. 12 ..	2	..	..	..	2	20
As. 12 ,, ,, Re. 1 ..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Re. 1 ,, ,, Rs. 1½ ..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Rs. 1½ ,, ,, Rs. 1½ ..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Rs. 1½ ,, ,, Rs. 1¾ ..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Rs. 1¾ ,, ,, Rs. 2 ..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Rs. 2 and over ..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Total ..	2	..	..	..	2	132

No. IX—*contd.*

Assistants who are paid on a Daily *basis.*

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Stationery.			Laundries.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	3	..	..	..	3
..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
..	..	1	3	..	..	..	3
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	4	11	..	..	..	11

shown in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Miscellaneous.				All Shops.	Percentage to Total.
Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.		
3	....	2	24	78	10·90
1	1	....	22	169	23·64
1	....	3	27	163	22·80
....	1	2	18	126	17·62
....	1	....	10	53	7·41
....	....	....	13	60	8·39
....	....	....	14	25	3·50
....	....	....	19	41	5·74
5	3	7	147	715	100·00

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of

Yearly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown						
	Grocery and Provision.					Cloth and	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 50 ..	..	3	..	..	3	..	..
Rs. 50 and below Rs. 75	..	11	..	..	11	..	..
„ 75 „ „ „ 100	..	17	..	..	17	..	1
„ 100 „ „ „ 125	..	31	..	..	31	..	..
„ 125 „ „ „ 150	..	28	..	..	28	..	..
„ 150 „ „ „ 175	..	57	..	..	57	..	6
„ 175 „ „ „ 200	..	9	..	..	9	..	3
„ 200 „ „ „ 225	..	77	..	..	77	..	5
„ 225 „ „ „ 250	..	15	..	..	15	..	1
„ 250 „ „ „ 275	2	57	..	..	59	..	4
„ 275 „ „ „ 300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 300 „ „ „ 325	..	49	..	..	49	..	4
„ 325 „ „ „ 350	..	2	..	..	2	..	..
„ 350 „ „ „ 375	..	9	..	..	9	..	2
„ 375 and over ..	..	4	..	..	4	..	1
Total ..	2	369	..	..	371	..	27

Yearly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Bidis and Pansupari.					Milk and	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 50 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rs. 50 and below Rs. 75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 75 „ „ „ 100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 100 „ „ „ 125	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 125 „ „ „ 150	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
„ 150 „ „ „ 175	..	4	..	..	4	..	1
„ 175 „ „ „ 200	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
„ 200 „ „ „ 225	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
„ 225 „ „ „ 250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 250 „ „ „ 275	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 275 „ „ „ 300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 300 „ „ „ 325	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
„ 325 „ „ „ 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 350 „ „ „ 375	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 375 and over ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	2	4	..	..	6	..	5

No. X.

Shop Assistants who are paid on a Yearly *basis.*

in Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Clothing.			Restaurants.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	27	..	1	..	..	1

Sweetmeats.			Metals and Hardware.				
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	6	..	..	6
..	..	1	..	3	..	..	3
..	..	1	..	8	..	..	8
..	..	2	..	4	..	..	4
..	..	..	..	7	..	..	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	5	..	..	5
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	1	..	2	..	..	2
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	5	..	35	..	..	35

TABLE

Frequency Table showing the Earnings of

Yearly Earnings of Shop Assistants.	Number of Shop Assistants getting wages shown in						
	Vegetables and Fruit.					Gold and	
	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.
Below Rs. 50	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Rs. 50 and below Rs. 75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 75 „ „ „ 100	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
„ 100 „ „ „ 125	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
„ 125 „ „ „ 150	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
„ 150 „ „ „ 175	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
„ 175 „ „ „ 200	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
„ 200 „ „ „ 225	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
„ 225 „ „ „ 250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 250 „ „ „ 275	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
„ 275 „ „ „ 300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 300 „ „ „ 325	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 325 „ „ „ 350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 350 „ „ „ 375	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 375 and over ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	2	..	..	2	1	10

No. X—*contd.*

Shop Assistants who are paid on a Yearly *basis.*

Column (1) in the following types of Shops.

Silver ware.			Miscellaneous.					All Shops.	Per centage to total.
Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.	Wages only.	Wages, Boarding and Lodging.	Wages and Boarding.	Wages and Lodging.	Total.		
..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	·98
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	2·15
..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	20	3·91
..	..	..	..	9	..	..	9	47	9·18
..	..	..	..	5	..	..	5	39	7·61
..	..	2	..	12	..	..	12	90	17·57
..	..	2	..	2	..	..	2	22	4·30
..	..	3	..	10	..	..	10	104	20·31
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	17	3·32
..	..	1	..	8	..	..	8	77	15·04
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	1	3	..	..	4	60	11·72
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	·39
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	12	2·34
..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	6	1·18
..	..	11	2	52	..	..	54	512	100·00

TABLE XI.

Table showing the average monthly earnings of certain industrial workers in Bombay City.

Cotton Mill Industry (1).		Engineering Industry (2).		Printing Industry (3).		Unregulated Factories (4).	
Occupation.	Average monthly earnings.	Occupation.	Average monthly earnings.	Occupation.	Average monthly earnings.	Occupation.	Average monthly earnings.
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
						Motor Repairing etc.	
Doffers—Men ..	14 12 1	Oilmen ..	27 4 7	Ballers ..	21 2 4	Fitters ..	35 14 2
Single side siders—Men ..	18 14 0	Ordinary Moulders ..	29 2 2	Proof Readers ..	62 9 7	Turners ..	44 3 0
Tarwallas ..	18 1 9	Rivet Heaters and Holders ..	21 2 1	Copy Holders ..	30 6 5	Carpenters ..	46 2 8
Reelers—Women ..	14 10 8	Hammermen and Strikers ..	27 12 0	Hand Pressmen ..	26 1 1	Painters ..	25 9 1
Grey winders—Women.	14 9 7	Ordinary Fitters ..	35 12 10	Paging men ..	27 8 6	Polishers ..	29 4 6
Two-loom Weavers ..	33 1 1	Ordinary Carpenters ..	31 5 6	Binders ..	30 0 1		
Folders ..	20 0 0	Ordinary Motor Mechanics ..	27 8 1	Wire and hand Stitchers ..	23 13 10	*Printing Press.*	
Ticket Boys ..	28 0 10	Motor Cleaners ..	25 13 11			Compositors ..	37 5 9
Coolies—Men ..	18 13 5	Metal Polishers ..	22 4 1			Pressmen ..	34 8 2
„ Women ..	13 7 2	Ordinary Painters ..	32 4 3			Cooly—Motor Repairing.	16 14 9
		Call Boys ..	18 8 5			„ Metal Foundries.	16 8 0
		Ordinary Tailors ..	38 7 1			„ Metal Works ..	16 7 2
		Packers, Wrappers and Labellers—Men ..	21 2 5			*Furniture Manufacturing.*	
		Do. Women	16 0 5				
		Mechanics' Assistants ..	23 9 3			Carpenters—Boys ..	19 15 0
		Warehouse man ..	27 15 7			Polishers—Boys ..	10 0 0

(1) Figures relate to October 1934 [Provisional].
(2) „ „ „ May 1934.
(3) Figures relate to May 1934.
(4) „ „ „ „ 1935.

TABLE No. XII

TABLE

Working conditions of Shop

Type of concern.	Estimated total number of shops.	Estimated total number of shop assistants.	Estimated total number of boys below 12 years of age.	Opening hour.	Closing hour.
				A. M.	P. M.
Eating houses and restaurants.	2,000	6,000	1,500	4-30 to 6	9 to 2-30 a.m.
Foodgrains	400	500	*Nil.*	8 to 8-30	7 to 7-30
Grocery	500	500	50	7-30 to 8-30	8-30 to 9-30
Vegetables	200	100	*Nil.*	6 to 7	9 to 9-30
Meat	100	50	*Nil.*	5 to 7	8 to 9
Clothing	800	4,000	100	8-30 to 9	8 to 10-30
Footwear	200	100	50	8	10 to 11
Headwear and Hosiery ..	30	125	*Nil.*	8-30 to 9	10
Brass and copper vessels ..	80	150	*Nil.*	9	8
Hardware	50	300	*Nil.*	8	8
Glass and Crockery ..	30	75	*Nil.*	8-30 to 9	8 to 9
Haircutting Saloons ..	300	700	50	6 to 6-30	9 to 11
Chemists and Druggists ..	30	250	*Nil.*	8 to 8-30	10 to 10-30
Panbidi	1,300	1,000	100	5 to 6	10 to 1 a.m.
Stationery	40	150	*Nil.*	8 to 10	7 to 8-30
Gold and Silver Jewellery ..	150	250	*Nil.*	8 to 9	8 to 8-30
Liquor	25	75	*Nil.*	10-15	9-15
Cutlery, Trunks and Umbrellas	50	100	*Nil.*	8 to 9	10 to 11
Cycles	10	50	*Nil.*	8-30	7-30
Motor accessories	30	75	*Nil.*	8-30 to 9	7 to 8-30
Building timber	50	250	*Nil.*	8 to 9	7 to 8

No. XII.

Assistants in Ahmedabad.

Total number of hours of work daily.	Intervals.	Number of days in the year shop remains closed.	Range of monthly wages.	Remarks.
Hours.	Hours.	Days.	Rs.	
12–16	1–2	*Nil.*	3–12	Minimum Re. 1. Maximum Rs. 50. Free boarding and lodging.
9–10	1½–2	25–35	5–30	Minimum Rs. 2.
10–11	1½–2	*Nil.*	15–25	Minimum Rs. 10. Maximum Rs. 40.
14–15	1	15	8 as. to 12 as. per day.	Two as. more for breakfast.
5–12	No special recess but plenty of leisure.	*Nil.*	6 as. to Re. 1 per day.	These workers are daily paid.
9–11	1–2	30–40	20–50	Minimum Rs. 4. Maximum Rs. 200.
12–13	1–1½	5	10–45	
10–11	2½–3	4	10–40	
9–10	1–2	50	15–35	
9–10	2	8–10	15–50	Minimum Rs. 10. Maximum Rs. 75.
10	1½–2	6–10	15–30	Minimum Rs. 10. Maximum Rs. 50.
14–16	½–1	*Nil.*	15–35	Boys start on Rs. 10 only.
10–11	3–4	10–15	15–35	Boys Rs. 10. Maximum Rs. 50.
9–12	1–4	*Nil.*	10–20	Get Bakshis from customers.
8–10	2–2½	20	20–45	
10–11	1½–2	15–20	15–40	Minimum Rs. 8. Maximum Rs. 100. Paid tea allowance of 1 to 2 as.
9½	1½	3½	15–50	Where sales are heavy salesmen get up to Rs. 100.
13–14	½ to 1½	*Nil.*	20–60	Opened in the afternoon on Bakri and Ramzan Ids also.
10	1	3	20–60	Maximum Rs. 100.
9½ to 10½	1–2½	30	Not collected.	Half holiday on Sunday.
9–10	1–2	30	15–60	Expert salesmen go up to Rs. 100.

TABLE

Table showing the conditions of work and

Type of Shop.	Opening Hour.	Closing Hour.	Rest Interval.
Clothing	7 to 8 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	....
Tailoring	7 to 8 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	2 hours ..
Florists	7 a.m. ..	9-30 p.m. ..	2 hours ..
Stationery	8 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	2 to 3 hours ..
Cycles	8 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	1 to 2 hours ..
Restaurants	5 a.m. ..	Usually 1 a.m.	2 to 3 hours ..
Grain	7-30 to 8 a.m.	8 p.m. ..	1 to 2 hours ..
Gold and Silverware	7-30 a.m. ..	9 p.m. ..	1 to 2 hours ..
Ganja, bhang, opium	6-30 a.m. ..	8-30 p.m. ..	2 hours ..
Brass and Copper metalware ..	8-30 a.m. ..	8-30 p.m. ..	2 hours ..
Pan and Bidi	7 a.m. ..	Usually 9-30 p.m. (after 1 a.m. in the case of pure panpatti shops near theatres).	1 to 1½ hours.

No. XIII.

wages in retail shops in Poona City.

Wages.	Holidays.	Leave.
Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 monthly for assistants; Rs. 1,200 yearly for munims and salesmen.	Half day on *Amavasya*.	15 days to one month with pay; sick leave 4 to 5 days.
At half the rates charged to customers, i.e. about annas 8 to Rs. 1-12-0 per day for piece workers. Rs. 18 to Rs. 50 for those on monthly basis.	*Amavasya* day in Hindu shops.	....
Annas 9 to 12 for men and from annas 2 upwards for boys per day. Extra wages for over-time.	*Nil* ..	....
Rs. 10 to Rs. 40 monthly ..	....	15 days with pay.
Rs. 8 to Rs. 40 monthly ..	....	2 weeks in a year with pay.
Rs. 2 to 8 monthly for waiters. Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 for workers in the kitchen (*plus* free board and lodging for all assistants).	....	Leave without pay.
Rs. 6 to Rs. 45 monthly ..	*Nil* ..	Sick leave with pay up to five days; also leave without pay.
Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 monthly in the case of communities other than Jains and Marwaris; yearly in case of latter with free board and lodging.	Half day on *Amavasya* days.	Leave with pay for one month for old hands *plus* sick leave with pay up to one week.
Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month ..	*Nil* ..	Leave with pay for one month.
Rs. 12 to Rs. 40 monthly ..	Closed on *Amavasya* days and 8 festival days.	Leave with pay for ten days *plus* sick leave with pay for five days.
Rs. 2 with free meals to Rs. 6 without meals per month.	*Nil* ..	*Nil*.

TABLE

Table showing the conditions of

Type of shop.	Busy time.	Assistants' age.
Clothing	8–30 a.m. to 12 noon ; 3 to 8 p.m.	Generally above 18 ..
Tailoring	....	Generally above 16 ..
Florists	7–30 to 9–30 a.m. ; 4–30 to 7–30 p.m.	Adult males and boys.
Stationery	4 to 9 p.m. ..	....
Cycles	....	12 years and above ..
Restaurants	....	From 9 upwards ..
Grain	....	Generally above 15 ..
Gold and Silverware	....	Above 15 ..
Ganja, Bhang, Opium	....	....
Brass and Copper Metal ware ..	....	....
Pan and bidi	9 to 11 a.m. 4 to 11 p.m.	Below 18 in pure panpatti shops.

No. XIII—*contd.*

work and wages in retail shops in Poona City—(contd.)

Busy season.	Period of wage payment.	Remarks.
May, June, July, November (marriages season).	Monthly—for assistants. Yearly—for Gumastas and salesmen.	
....	Daily, weekly or monthly.	Festival bonus and loans without interest to older employees.
March, April, May and June.	Daily (monthly in some cases).	
June ..	....	Advances granted.
....	Monthly.	
....	Monthly	Two shifts, employees have to work for 10 to 14 hours loans without interest and advances granted.
First ten days of a month.	Monthly.	
May, June and July ..	Yearly in case of Jain Marwari owners. Monthly in the case of other communities.	Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 as festival bonus. Generally the relatives of the owners are employed in the shops.
....	Monthly.	
April, May, November and December.	Monthly.	
....	Month ..	Free tea once a day.

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Government of Bombay

Report

of the

Special Officer appointed to enquire into allegations regarding the use of police in connection with collections of land revenue in the Bardoli Taluka and the Valod Mahal of the Surat District

[Price—Annas 3 *or* 4*d*.]

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE

No. E.O.B.—4.

From

R. G. GORDON, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Special Enquiry Officer, Bardoli;

To

The CHIEF SECRETARY to GOVERNMENT,
Bombay.

Nasik, 4th December 1931.

Subject:—**BARDOLI ENQUIRY.**

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith the report in connection with the enquiry into certain allegations regarding the methods of revenue collections in certain villages of the Surat District which I was deputed to make by the orders contained in Government Resolution (Revenue Department) No. 5398-B dated 26th September 1931. As will be seen later, the enquiry came to an abrupt conclusion on November 13th, as the parties making the allegations, viz. the Congress and the khatedars, withdrew and declined to take further part in the proceedings. In these circumstances this report deals merely with the facts brought out in the evidence as recorded up to the date when these parties withdrew.

The Terms of Reference.

2. Paragraph 3 of the communique of the Government of India dated August 28th, 1931, and the terms of reference to the Enquiry Officer run as follows :—

"In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat district the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli taluka and Valod Mahal which were visited by Revenue Officials, accompanied by a party of police, during the month of July 1931, more severe demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue payers and enforced by coercion exercised through the Police than were made from and met by revenue payers of other villages of the Bardoli taluka. The Government of India in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay have decided that an enquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference :—

'To enquire into the allegations that khatedars in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through

the Police to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli taluka where collections were effected after March 5th, 1931, without the aid of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid. Within the terms of reference evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute.' "

3. According to these terms of reference I had to enquire into the allegations—

(1) that khatedars in the villages concerned were compelled to pay revenue on a standard higher than that adopted since March 5th, 1931, in other villages of the same taluka;

(2) that these demands were enforced by coercion exercised through the Police;

and to report—

(3) what was the sum, if any, so exacted;

4. On these issues I would venture to make the following remarks :—

(*a*) The names of "the villages in question" are not stated in the terms of reference and had to be settled as part of the enquiry;

(*b*) Of the two main issues the first regarding the collection of revenue is clearly the most important: that regarding the action of the Police is secondary: in fact, in the event of the first issue not being proved the second does not properly arise, as the "coercion" referred to in the terms of reference is "coercion to make excess payments" and not "coercion" in and by itself. I make these remarks in view of the efforts which have been made during the enquiry to force the Police issue to the front as the main issue and as independent of its connection with the payment of revenue;

(*c*) In the first issue the most important question is that of the standard of demand which was adopted in the other villages of the taluka, as this is the touchstone by which the issue as a whole, whether the payments made by the khatedars in the villages concerned were in excess, can alone be judged. In this connection I may remark that the phrase "standard of demand" must be interpreted as meaning "standard of collection" as "demand" is a technical word meaning the whole amount standing in the revenue papers as due from the khatedar and there can be no "standard" applicable in this case;

(*d*) According to the terms of reference the question of this "standard" is one of plain matter of fact relating to conditions within the Bardoli taluka alone and having no concern even with other talukas in the same district. The date "March 5th" as it appears there is merely a point of time defining the period within which the Enquiry Officer is to confine his investigations.

Here again I have to make this point at the outset because of the attempts which have been made by the Counsel for the Congress during the course of the enquiry to extend its range into altogether unauthorised regions. It has actually been claimed that the mere

mention of the date " March 5th " is sufficient to authorise the Enquiry Officer to investigate the manner in which the Government of India and the Government of Bombay have implemented the terms of the Delhi Pact on the ground that because March 5th is the date of the Delhi Pact and because the parties to the Pact and this enquiry are the same, therefore the mention of the date " March 5th " must mean that the question of how the Delhi Pact has been implemented must be a point at issue in this enquiry : not merely so but that it also gives authority to enquire how the Pact has been implemented in other districts and to call for all the papers from both Governments and from other districts for this purpose. It is hardly necessary to say that the terms of reference authorise no such investigations and that it was quite impossible to accede to these demands.

Procedure during the Inquiry.

5. The instructions received from the Government of Bombay regarding the powers of the Enquiry Officer and the methods of conducting the enquiry were as follows :—

(1) The enquiry was to be held under the provisions of Chapter XII of the Land Revenue Code and was to be an ordinary enquiry under section 197 of that Code ;

(2) The enquiry was to be full and open and khatedars were to be allowed to lead as well as to test evidence before the Special Officer with the help of their representatives, including legal advisers ;

(3) The Enquiry Officer was also given the powers of a Collector in the Surat District under section 19 of the Land Revenue Code.

6. In accordance with these instructions a public notice was issued in the villages concerned on the 28th/29th September giving the terms of reference, which, it was stated, would be strictly adhered to, notifying that a preliminary discussion would be held at Bardoli on October 5th and that thereafter the villages would be visited, and calling on any individuals, public bodies or organisation desiring to make a communication to the Enquiry Officer to do so. I went to Bardoli on October 4th and the same day a notice was issued to the villages directing those khatedars who might wish to make complaints to do so within one week.

7. On October 5th the proceedings opened at Bardoli. The Collector of Surat was represented by Diwan Bahadur Thakorram Kapilram, Government Pleader, Surat. The only organisation which appeared was the Congress which was represented by Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, Bar-at-Law. He also appeared on behalf of a number of khatedars, though it may here be stated that the real complainant was the Congress on whose behalf the khatedars really appeared as witnesses and not as independent complainants. The Congress brought them, made all arrangements for them and produced their documents for them, and, as was fairly clear, made them appear or not as it suited the Congress case. Indeed, one khatedar (Exhibit 6 of Moti Falod) stated that he

had no personal complaint against Government at all, but merely appeared because he had been told to do so and because others came. At this meeting I first read out a statement giving the terms of reference, stating the issues on the lines given in paragraph 3 of this report, which were accepted, and making general remarks as to procedure. The question of the villages to be admitted to the enquiry was discussed, the names of 10 were agreed upon and the question of 6 others which Mr. Bhulabhai wished to be added was reserved for later consideration. It was decided to begin the examination of witnesses on the 8th with Rayam. Mr. Bhulabhai also put in a written statement outlining his case. (A copy of which is attached to this report).

On the 7th a further discussion was held at which the following questions were discussed :—

(*a*) the order of the examination of the villages admitted to the enquiry ;

(*b*) the issues in the case ;

(*c*) the important question of the "standard" referred to in paragraph 4 (*c*)-(*d*) above.

8. As regards this last subject, Mr. Bhulabhai stated definitely that the standard which was the foundation of his case as having been in operation during the period from March 5th up to the date of the visits and as having been then violated was that by which no cultivator should be compelled to pay land revenue by borrowing for the purpose. That this "standard" was actually the basis of the Congress case is proved by the details given in the written statement and by the fact that every khatedar who gave evidence stated as the main part of his evidence that he had to borrow and the only other evidence given on the revenue issue, other than that regarding the khatedar's resources, was in connection with lending and borrowing. In fact, even as late as October 22nd this "standard" was maintained in a requisition for papers which stated in conclusion that "our case is that . . . no defaulter was obliged to pay except from his own depleted resources and therefore he was not to be obliged to pay if he had to borrow for the purpose of paying." On November 6th, however, in his oral statement on the subject of the production of papers referred to below Mr. Bhulabhai made the surprising statement that the "standard" was in point of fact undefinable, that he knew nothing about it and that only Mr. Gandhi knew, thus falsifying the whole of the Congress case up to date and in fact almost automatically leading to withdrawal, apart from the question of the production of papers.

9. During the further course of discussion on October 7th Mr. Bhulabhai produced and tried to get admitted the letter of Mr. Gandhi which is referred to in his written statement : he also raised the question of the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Collector of Kaira also referred to therein. Though the subject of the "standard" with which these papers were connected was postponed pending the taking of evidence and the collection of facts Mr. Bhulabhai was given plainly to understand that the question of correspondence relating to other

districts did not arise. The letter from Mr. Gandhi was clearly inadmissible under the Evidence Act, but its production is interesting as proving that there can have been no intention of calling Mr. Gandhi personally as a witness at this stage : otherwise there would have been no point in trying to exhibit this letter.

10. From 8th October onwards the examination of the khatedars from the villages was proceeded with till 7 villages had been finished—those of Rayam, Moti Falod, Timberva, Pardi Khadod, Khoj, Vaghech and Bardoli. During this period also—

(*a*) I paid visits to the villages of Rayam, Khoj, Timberva and Pardi. I may add that I visited Vaghech later on November 17th and Bardoli on November 27th.

(*b*) Orders were issued on the subject of the 6 villages which Mr. Bhulabhai wished to be added to the original 10. Of these 6 one, Nava Falia, was added by agreement, but I decided that the other five did not fall within the terms of reference.

11. On November 5th the first Government witness, the Mamlatdar of Bardoli, was taken up. During the course of his cross-examination the question of the production of certain documents arose. Further consideration of the question was postponed by mutual agreement till the next day pending the submission of a statement on the subject of the production of documents by Mr. Bhulabhai. On the 6th, therefore, he produced a long written statement asking for the production of a mass of documents comprised under the following heads :—

(*a*) All orders, directions or notifications of the Government of India or of the Government of Bombay issued for the purpose of implementing the terms of the agreement of March 5th, 1931, and in particular clauses 16-B and 17-B and also with reference to revenue suspensions in Gujarat, which may have been issued between March 5th and the date of the order of the enquiry, i.e. 26th September 1931 ;

(*b*) All local orders issued in connection with the working of the agreement of March 5th. These "local orders" meant orders issued in different districts ;

(*c*) All documents which must have come into existence at or about the time when the visits took place ;

(*d*) Any communications which will throw light on the organised arrangements between the revenue officials and the police for and in connection with these visits.

The reasons given for asking for the production of the first two classes of documents were those already referred to in paragraph 4 (*d*) above, viz., that the reference to the date "March 5th" in the terms of reference and the fact that the Delhi Pact and the agreement regarding this enquiry was between the same parties necessarily involved the whole question of the implementing of the Delhi Pact as a point at issue in the enquiry.

These requests were combined in Mr. Bhulabhai's address on the subject with the statement previously referred to, that the Congress now

did not know what the "standard" was nor could they define it, but that only Mr. Gandhi knew; and it was finally also intimated that unless the decision on the production of papers was in favour of the Congress, they would withdraw from the enquiry.

12. On November 13th after the Divali holidays I issued an order stating my inability to accede to these requests. The main reasons given may be summarised as follows:—

(*a*) that the Congress, after having up to date conducted the whole case on the basis of the "no borrowing standard", had now come forward to say that they did not know what the standard was and had none to put forward. Hence the request for papers was merely a fishing enquiry with the object of going through the Government papers in order to try and find some grounds for a case against Government on the basis of evidence provided by Government;

(*b*) that as the case for Congress depended solely upon the evidence to be provided by Government regarding the standard it was their duty to have asked for papers long before and not when three-fifths of the evidence had been recorded.

In this connection I may add that as regards the first class of papers asked, viz. the orders of the Government of India and the Government of Bombay, a request for their production had already been made on October 22nd and refused on October 31st, yet no protest was made at that time, though according to the subsequent statement their production was essential to the Congress case;

(*c*) that the papers covered a very wide range and were quite undefined, and that the terms of reference had no connection at all with the Delhi Pact.

(*d*) that documents which came into existence after the date of the visits could not have any bearing on the question of the standard at that period unless they contained admissions.

Finally I added:—

> "If any reasonable request for the production of documents which are really shewn to have a bearing on some definite case put forward by the Congress and having relation to the terms of reference are put forward I will do my best to accede to them but it is impossible to agree to the vague and unreasonable demands made in the reference now in question."

Thereupon the Counsel for the Congress intimated the next day that they had decided to withdraw from the enquiry on the ground that it would be infructuous unless these papers were produced and that they could not in justice be withheld.

13. After the withdrawal of the Congress Government decided to present no more witnesses. I also considered it undesirable to call for any Government officers to give statements before me. Any such statements would merely have been declared to be ex-parte and of no value,

and would have given cover for charges against the impartiality of the enquiry. In the remainder of this report therefore no evidence is taken into account save that which was given before me in the presence of the Congress. In order, however, to fill in the details given in paragraph 16 I obtained from the District Superintendent of Police, Surat, a list giving the number and names of the Police Officers who accompanied the revenue officers to the villages in question.

Consideration of the recorded evidence.

14. I shall now proceed to consider the evidence as recorded in the enquiry up to the date of the withdrawal of the Congress.

15. As I have already stated in paragraph 7 above, 10 villages were admitted to the enquiry by agreement on the first day and one subsequently, the claim of Mr. Bhulabhai that 5 other villages should be admitted having been negatived. Eleven villages were consequently admitted in all, their names being :—

Bardoli Taluka ..	Rayam, Moti Falod, Timberva, Pardi Khadod, Khoj, Vaghech Sarbhon, Bardoli, Vankaner.
Valod Mahal ..	Siadla, Sikher, Nava Falia.

Evidence was recorded for the first seven villages, but then the Congress retired and with them the prospective witnesses from the remaining 4 villages. Notices were issued in these villages giving them an opportunity to make complaints independently, but no one came forward within the time fixed, so these villages are left out of consideration in this report.

16. The statement given below shews the composition of the combined parties of Revenue and Police Officers visiting the villages in question with the dates of visit :—

Village.	Revenue Officers.	Police Officers.	Date of visit.
1. Rayam ..	Mamlatdar ..	1 Deputy Superintendent of Police. 1 Sub-Inspector of Police. 6 Constables.	July 17th.
2. Moti Falod ..	(As above but with	5 constables) ..	July 18th.
3. Timberva ..	Aval Karkun ..	1 Sub-Inspector of Police .. 6 Constables.	July 20th.
4. Vaghech ..	Collector, Mamlatdar.	1 Deputy Superintendent of Police. 1 Sub-Inspector of Police. 5 Constables.	July 20th.

Village.	Revenue Officers.	Police Officers.	Date of visit.
5. Pardi Khadod.	Aval Karkun ..	1 Sub-Inspector of Police. 6 Constables.	July 21st.
6. Khoj ..	Aval Karkun ..	1 Sub-Inspector of Police. 6 Constables.	July 21st.
7. Bardoli ..	Aval Karkun ..	1 Sub-Inspector of Police. 5 Constables.	July 22nd.

The general allegations made against these parties are on the same lines in all the 7 villages. They are that on arrival the Police were employed either, as in Rayam and Moti Falod, to prevent the khatedars from either going into or leaving their houses as the case might be or going out into the fields, or as in Timberva, Pardi and Khoj to prevent people or cattle leaving the village. The khatedars in arrears were then directed to be present and pay their dues. It is alleged that in every case the complainant khatedars, who number 62 out of the 146 from whom collections were made at the time of the visits, had to go out and borrow for the purpose of paying the amount of the land revenue collected on that day.

17. The table given below shews the total number of khatas in these villages, the number of resident khatedars and the number of complainants. The villages are shewn in the order in which their examination was taken during the enquiry :—

Village. 1	Total khatas. 2	Resident Khatedars. 3	Complainants. 4	Amount collected from 57 complainants. 5
				Rs. a. p.
1. Rayam	148	69	11	431 10 0
2. Moti Falod	136	76	6	493 5 0
3. Timberva	166	91	10	420 6 0
4. Pardi	134	100	6	331 8 0
5. Khoj	114	95	9	469 1 0
6. Vaghech	114	83	10	414 2 0
7. Bardoli	504	479	10	242 4 0
Total ..	1,316	993	62	2,802 4 0

The amount given in column 5 includes the sums paid on the date of the visit for the village concerned and also for other villages in which the complainants held khatas. Five of the complainant khatedars, however, paid after the date of the visit and nothing on that date. The sum involved is Rs. 319-14-0. This sum is not included in the figures

given above, but will be found in Appendix A attached to this report which gives the names of all the complainants together with the sums paid by them on or after the date of visit. It will be contended later on that those who paid only after the date of visit do not fall within the terms of reference. The actual number of khatedars involved in the payment of the total given in column 5 of the above statement therefore is 57. Ten of the complainant khatedars who did pay revenue on the date of visit also paid additional sums after that date. These sums are shewn in the Appendix, but are not included in the above figures. It will be argued later that these khatedars also do not fall within the terms of reference.

18. It will be seen that the number of complainants, whether compared with the total number of khatedars or the number of resident khatedars only is small while the sum involved is also a small figure. It may be argued that both the total number of khatas and the number of resident khatedars include joint khatas in which persons holding independent khatas have shares and that therefore these individuals are counted twice over, but there are a number of khatas in which persons have shares whose names do not appear in the records and on the whole the probability is that the number of khatas is not far out in representing the total number of actual landholders.

19. I have visited all these villages except Moti Falod. Bardoli is the taluka town and is situated on the extreme west of the taluka. The complainants are 2 Muhammadans and the rest Kachias, who are mainly irrigators. The other six are Kunbi villages, Vaghech being situated by itself to the south of the taluka and the remainder more or less in a group to the northwest, Timberva being rather more in the centre on the Railway. I have seen the houses of all the khatedars concerned, who are all, except one, Kunbis of the better class. In Rayam, for example, the complainants are the biggest khatedars in the village.

20. The evidence of all the witnesses was taken at Bardoli. They were produced by the Congress without any summons. The evidence of each khatedar witness consisted, first of a statement regarding the land held, the crops obtained in this year with their value and disposal: the amount of assessment paid, the number of cattle lost on "hijrat" and those acquired since; the number of the family and whether the khatedar was in debt, without details of the debts. To save time, these details, after Timberva, were reduced to a form which will be found attached to each statement. Then the visit of the combined party was described, so far as it touched the witness, and the borrowing of the money to pay the assessment. The only other witnesses except two were the persons who were either the lenders or were connected in some way with the borrowing of the money. The witnesses were cross-examined by the Government Pleader and re-examined. Only one Government witness was examined, the Mamlatdar of Bardoli, and his cross-examination had not been completed when the enquiry came to a close nor was he re-examined at all. The total number of witnesses examined was 135.

21. The subjects dealt with naturally divide themselves into two parts according to the issues in the enquiry, viz. Revenue and Police matters, so I will discuss the evidence under these two heads separately.

A.—Evidence regarding Revenue matters.

22. I would premise that under the terms of reference the enquiry under this head should have been a comparative one, the collections made from the complainant khatedars being compared with those made on the standard adopted in other villages of the taluka. This question of standard was therefore, as has been previously remarked, the crucial point of the whole enquiry. At the outset the Congress put forward as the basis of their case the "no borrowing standard" and the whole of the examination and the cross-examination of the witnesses up to the date of withdrawal had been conducted on this understanding. But Mr. Bhulabhai on November 6th stated that this was no longer their "standard", that the Congress did not know what it was and that only Mr. Gandhi knew. In these circumstances it is not possible for me to comply with the terms of reference exactly as they stand, as no standard is before me on the basis of which to make a comparative enquiry, Government having not had to put any case forward. In these conditions I propose to review the evidence put forward as it stands in order to see what light is thrown on the allegations made against the authorities of the Surat district of oppression in the collection of land revenue. It would obviously be unfair to allow these charges to remain unexamined simply because the Congress for their own reasons have chosen to withdraw from the enquiry.

23. In this connection I will first deal with certain points of practical revenue interest which come out in the evidence and in the statistics prepared in connection with the position of these khatedars :—

(*a*) The first point is the large amount of unauthorised arrears of land revenue appearing against the majority of these khatedars at the beginning of the revenue year. Thus, in the villages of Moti Falod and Pardi all the complainant khatedars except one had paid not a pie of assessment for the previous two years and in other villages most other khatedars were in the same position in only a somewhat lesser degree. For the year 1928-29 the failure to pay was put down partially to the occurrence of frost, but for 1929-30 no reasons could be given other than that of political agitation. Thus, the villagers of Rayam, and khatedars in other villages too, confessed that they had sworn not to pay any assessment in that year so long as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel were in jail. At the same time, however, they had no reason to give why they did not pay when these gentlemen were released.

(*b*) But in spite of these facts the evidence about the measures actually taken during the visits to collect land revenue shows that they were mild in the extreme. The only coercive measure employed was that of distraint of moveable property and even this was only done in three cases, two in Rayam and one in Vaghech : and in only one of these three

cases was it carried through and the property actually taken over, as in the other two cases the khatedars paid some revenue and the property was released. It may be added that in the case of the only khatedar whose property was distrained (Daya Kala—Exhibit 2 of Rayam) he admitted in cross-examination that he actually did have Rs. 123 in cash in his house on the day of visit at the time when he said he was unable to pay anything. In no other villages were any coercive measures taken at all. Some notices of ¼th fine were issued, but none of these have been put into effect. With the allegations about action by the Police I deal under that head but so far as the Revenue department was concerned the measures taken were milder than those in an ordinary Deccan taluka in an average year for the collection of authorised arrears.

(*c*) As regards the amounts collected, the evidence proves without any doubt that, so far from the people being squeezed to pay more than they could, the amounts they offered were accepted without making any difficulties even though they might still be in arrears. It would be possible to quote a number of instances of this, but I will content myself with the three following :—

Bhula Mahadev (Exhibit 15* Khoj):—"They told me to bring more. But I was allowed to go." He had then paid only 1¼ times the assessment which is less than he would have had to pay in the ordinary way even with suspended arrears ;

Lala Uka (Exhibit 17 Khoj) :—"I was told I had arrears in Bharampur and was asked to pay them, but I said I could not do it then" and nothing more was said, even though for the villages in question he had paid only Rs. 20-12-0 out of a demand of Rs. 122-11-0.

Chhotu Rama (Exhibit 21 Timberva).—This man had a khata of Rs. 546 out of which he had paid only Rs. 20 up to date. He gives two different accounts of the same affair, in one of which the Sub-Inspector and in the other the Aval Karkun take the chief part, but in both cases he explained his position and he is told he can pay later and nothing more is done : and this though he had only paid Rs. 20 out of Rs. 546. I may add that after being treated in this considerate manner he shewed his gratitude by going off immediately, as he himself states, to the Congress Ashram at Bardoli, there to tell stories of oppression about the very officers who had been so merciful to him.

In point of fact out of the 62 complainants in only 8 cases is there any statement of a definite sum mentioned as being asked for. In three of these Rs. 100, 100 and Rs. 43 were first asked for while the sums actually collected were Rs. 25, 20 and 5. In one other case it was the Patel who asked for an additional sum.

24. There are also examples of khatedars who according to their own statements were quite prepared to pay much more than was actually

*Note.—The exhibit numbers shown are those given on the statement of recorded evidence for the villages concerned.

offered and readily accepted by the Revenue Officers: thus, in the village of Pardi Naran Vithal (Exhibit 1) states that he tried to borrow Rs. 125, but could only get Rs. 30; Khushal Morar (Exhibit 3) says that he tried to borrow Rs. 125 "as this was the amount of his arrears" but also only obtained Rs. 30: while Dayal Bhula (Exhibit 7) asked for Rs. 100, but only got Rs. 40.

25. At the end of the visits 39 out of the 62 complainants were still in arrears, of whom 10 had paid an amount only either equal to or less than one assessment of their holding and 19 had paid only between 1 and 1½ times one assessment which is less than would have been demanded in an ordinary year in any district in the Presidency.

26. The next two points which arise concern certain claims which it was apparently intended to make on account of the economic condition of the khatedars :—

(*a*) The details of crops given in the statements seem intended to prove that the khatedars had not the wherewithal to pay from their produce. As to this it is only necessary to say that the statements are entirely uncorroborated and, like all ex-parte statements of a cultivator's income, could not possibly be accepted as they stand;

(*b*) The second claim is on behalf of the complainant khatedars in the Kunbi villages on the ground that they are Hijratis. The facts are that in October 1930 the majority of the Kunbi cultivators of these villages migrated temporarily as a political gesture of which a good deal was made at the time. It is claimed that their crops must have suffered and that therefore these Hijrati khatedars are entitled to special treatment. To which it must be replied that if other Hijrati khatedars can pay there is no reason why these particular khatedars should be exempted unless they show special reasons, which they have failed and indeed not tried to do. But further, nearly 50 per cent. of the alleged loans came from the near relatives of the Hijratis who themselves went on "Hijarat" so that we have Hijratis proving that they as a class cannot pay the assessment by the evidence of loans borrowed from Hijratis.

27. I shall now proceed to consider the evidence in some detail and in this connection the first point I would make is that on the facts alone and apart from any consideration of the reliability of the evidence the following khatedars should in my opinion be excluded as not coming within the terms of reference, reasonably interpreted :—

(*a*) Those who had or could have no complaint;

(*b*) Those who paid the sums complained of after the date of the visit;

(*c*) Those who paid on the day of visit, but also made additional payments after that date.

To take these in order :—

(*a*) *Those who had or could have no complaint.*

(i) *Dhana Ganesh* (Exhibit 6 of Moti Falod) :—He stated before me that he had no complaint to make and that he had only come because he was told to come.

(ii) *Daya Ranchhod* (Exhibit 1 of Timberva) :—He was absent himself on the day and his brother, Naran Jiva, represented him. The latter stated that he did not see any coercion by the Police and that he was not ordered to pay assessment on that day, though he did actually pay it. This khatedar also comes under exclusion under (*b*) following as he paid Rs. 34 for Timberva and Rs. 38 for Rayam 3 and 5 days after the visit.

(iii) *Punja Deia* (Exhibit 16 of Timberva) :—He admitted that he had paid in cash and his complaint was withdrawn.

(*b*) *Those who paid the sums complained of after the date of the visit.*

I am unable to see how payments of this kind come within the terms of reference, when there was *ex-hypothesi* no fear of Police coercion at the time of payment. If this principle were admitted, then the period might be extended to any length of time :—

(iv) *Hira Kunverji* (Exhibit 10 of Timberva) :—This man paid Rs. 223-10-0 two days after the visit. He says he borrowed the money on the day of the visit and produces a document. He says he was too tired to pay on that day and went to the fields the next day, so only paid on the third day. I do not see how the case can stand.

(v) *Bhula Harkha* (Exhibit 12 of Timberva) :—His case is exactly similar to the above—including the excuse of being tired. He paid Rs. 149-15-0.

(vi) *Bhika Kuber* (Exhibit 24 of Vaghech) :—This man has no case at all. He was absent on the day of the visit. His wife said he would pay the next day and he did.

(vii) *Lallu Ranchhod* (Exhibit 16 of Bardoli) :—This man also has no case at all. He paid the day after the visit and does not even allege that he borrowed on that day.

(*c*) *Those who paid additional sums after the date of the visit.*

It seems entirely illogical to argue that a person has been coerced into paying beyond his capacity when he afterwards proceeds to make additional payments, in some cases even more than that paid on the date of the visit, voluntarily without any pressure at all. I consider that such khatedars have put themselves out of court and should be excluded.

These persons are the following :—

(viii) *Bai Kunver* (Exhibit 8 of Rayam) :—She paid an additional Rs. 40 seven days after the visit.

(ix) *Baber Rama* (Exhibit 8 of Timberva) :—He paid Rs. 20-9-0 the next day. On the day of the visit he had paid Rs. 6 only.

(x) *Parshotham Daya* (Exhibit 22 of Timberva) :—He paid Rs. 10 extra a week after the visit.

(xi) *Natha Madhav* (Exhibit 6 of Vaghech) :—He paid Rs. 15-13-0 extra five days after the visit.

(xii) *Bai Sami* (Exhibit 11 of Vaghech) :—She paid Rs. 43-1-0 for Vaghech four days after the visit and Rs. 8 for Pera later.

(xiii) *Bawa Bhagwandas* (Exhibit 14 of Vaghech) :—He paid Rs. 35-2-0 four days after the visit.

(xiv) *Bai Bhani* (Exhibit 21 of Vaghech) :—She paid Rs. 30-1-0 five days after the date of visit, having only paid Rs. 20 on that day.

(xv) *Ahmed Mahomed Lasania* (Exhibit 1 of Bardoli) :—He paid Rs. 13-12-0 on August 20th, i.e. one month after the visit.

28. Next I should like to make remarks about some features of the evidence as regards borrowing in general :—

(*a*) In 25 cases the lenders are the close relatives of the borrowers : either an uncle or a cousin or an aunt, etc. These circumstances as they stand of course connote merely temporary family arrangements and not true borrowing.

(*b*) In no case is the lender a *savkar* even though most of the khatedars are in debt to *savkars*. There is a case of a goldsmith and of a blacksmith and of a couple of vegetable sellers who are alleged to have lent money, but no savkar at all. The persons who are said to have done the lending in the six Kunbi villages are practically all Kunbis of the same village as the borrower except in the case of Timberva where for some reason or other which is unexplained 6 out of the 10 khatedars according to their statements went out miles into the Gaikwari territory in heavy rain, or in one case to Bardoli, to borrow.

(*c*) In only 5 cases are any documents produced : in all the other cases the lending was by oral agreement without even a record of any kind. Also in only two of these cases was any third party stated to be present at the time of the loan so that there is no corroborative evidence that it was made nor could it be proved in Court.

(*d*) Another striking feature is the case with which the money is said to have been obtained. The usual formula in the evidence is "I was told to find money so I went and got it from so-and-so." In only a few cases does a man say that he has to make a hunt for a lender. What he wants he gets without any difficulty on the mere promise to pay at the harvest. In one case (Hira Kunverji of Timberva) Rs. 250 are stated to have been lent without security by a man from the Gaikwari territory, without even knowing him or seeing him, on the word of another man. In another case (Parshotham Daya of the same village) a servant was sent without even a letter to a Gaikwari village some miles off and he was given Rs. 100 immediately by a man who had never lent money before.

(*e*) In every case about which this evidence was given the interest is stated to be 6 per cent. only.

The picture here presented by the witnesses is certainly not that of a helpless peasantry driven to raise loans from money-lenders at high rates of interest, but of khatedars who borrow in a friendly way from their relatives or from people who at any rate are not in any sense of the term money-lenders and who come mainly from the same village and are of the same caste, on an exceptionally low rate of interest, which any business man would jump at, and get the money required immediately without any security or indeed even any witness to prove the transaction on the mere promise to pay at the next harvest.

29. There is, however, another important feature of the situation which comes out strongly in the evidence which is that while khatedars are making these complaints because, as they allege, they have had to borrow sums amounting on the average to Rs. 50 per head for the payment of land revenue, yet they have no hesitation in spending far larger sums in other directions either out of their own funds or by borrowing while not paying land revenue. I give some examples of cases of this kind below :—

1.—Moti Falod.

(i) *Bai Pemi* (Exhibit 2):—She admits that 3 years ago she spent Rs. 2,000 on the marriage of her son on borrowed money, yet for the past two years including that year she has paid no assessment at all.

(ii) *Ranchhod Madhav* (Exhibit 5):—He admits having paid regularly for the past 10 years Rs. 200 as annual rent for an area half the size of his Government holding, the assessment of which is Rs. 111. Yet he paid only Rs. 13 in all as assessment in the previous 2 years.

2.—Timberva.

(iii) *Hira Kunverji* (Exhibit 10):—He settled two debts of Rs. 4,100 and Rs. 1,500 in June by the sale and transfer of land, but paid only Rs. 130 as assessment out of Rs. 501.

3.—Pardi Khadod.

(iv) *Jaga Gopal* (Exhibit 6):—This man's total assessment in 3 villages amounts to Rs. 124 on which he had paid only about Rs. 20 during the previous 2 years, yet during this period he has paid annually assessment of Rs. 250 for land in Gaikwari territory where he has no arrears. Though he says he is in debt, he also admitted that he is owed considerable sums by Banias in his own village. He is obviously a man of large means.

4.—Khoj.

(v) *Bhika Ratanji* (Exhibit 4):—He has leased an area just over half the size of his Government holding on a rent of Rs. 211 out of which he states he has paid Rs. 161 this year. Yet before the visit he had only paid Rs. 97-7-0 on his Government holding; even now he has only paid Rs. 129 on it which is less than 1½ times the assessment.

(vi) *Lala Govind* (Exhibit 9):—Last year he sold land for Rs. 4,100 but paid only Rs. 30 as assessment out of a khata of Rs. 77.

(vii) *Hansji Bhikha* (Exhibit 11) :—This man bought a bullock in June for Rs. 255 and a buffalo in September for Rs. 170, paying cash in both cases. In 1928-29 (the "frost" year) he bought land for Rs. 2,433, paying Rs. 900 in cash and the rest in subsequent instalments of Rs. 500 a year. This year he paid Rs. 800 in cash. It is true that he says he sold land this year for Rs. 1,200 but he forgets the name of the man to whom he sold it!

(viii) *Naran Mavji* (Exhibit 14):—Two years ago this man and two partners bought land for cash for Rs. 1,100. He says the money was borrowed, but declined to say from whom. The sum he now complains about is Rs. 24-6-0 only.

5.—VAGHECH.

(ix) *Govind Naran* (Exhibit 1) :—This man admits having two years ago received land valued at Rs. 1,185 for a debt due to him. The sum he objects to pay was Rs. 40 and even so he has only paid just over once the assessment.

(x) *Natha Madhav* (Exhibit 6) :—He admits that 4 years ago he sent his brother to South Africa at a cost of Rs. 1,000 of which Rs. 400 were paid in cash and Rs. 600 borrowed. This borrowed money has been paid off during the last 3 years in instalments of Rs. 200 per annum, though in the last 2 years he only paid Rs. 45 as assessment.

(xi) *Bai Sami* (Exhibit 11) :—She was repaid a sum of Rs. 400 in May by a debtor, yet paid no Government assessment out of it.

(xii) *Bawa Bhagwandas* (Exhibit 14) :—This man is the village priest. He admits that he is owed Rs. 1,500 by one debtor and that he does moneylending.

6.—BARDOLI.

(xiii) *Lallu Vallabh* (Exhibit 6) :—He admits that for the past 3 years including this year he has been regularly paying rent of Rs. 125 for an area half the size of his Government holding which is only assessed at Rs. 37; yet during the past 2 years he has only paid Rs. 15 in all as assessment; even now he has only paid a total of Rs. 37, equal to one year's assessment of his holding.

(xiv) *Ranchhod Natha* (Exhibit 7) :—He admits that this year he has paid Rs. 80 in rent for an area which is only two-thirds the area of his Government land which is assessed at Rs. 8-5-0. Even now he has only paid a total amount of Rs. 18-5-0 as assessment.

30. The present complaints in fact really imply that money may be spent to any amount, whether from a khatedar's own pocket or from loans, on any other object other than on that which, according to the

law, constitutes the first charge on a landowner's property, viz. the land revenue : that a khatedar has the right to hold up the payment of this revenue not because he has not had the crops but on account of political reasons and then, when he has spent his money on his private affairs or rent or other similar objects, he has a right to make loud complaints because he is asked to draw on his extensive credit for the payment of a small sum of land revenue, at a cost in interest which amounts to an average of Rs. 2-4-0 per head in the case of the present complainants for the 9 months till the cotton season.

31. I respectfully submit that this claim could not be admitted as valid even if the allegations as regards the necessity for borrowing in these particular cases were held to be proved. In point of fact, however, there is clear proof that in a number of cases the allegations as regards the fact of borrowing are either demonstrably false or else so highly suspicious that the statements made cannot be believed. I give these cases below :—

1.—Rayam.

(i) *Lallu Naran* (Exhibit 12) :—He states that he borrowed Rs. 15 from his sister who was staying with him. The story is a most unlikely one and is uncorroborated as the lady did not come forward to support it.

2.—Moti Falod.

(ii) *Bai Lakhi* (Exhibit 4).

(iii) *Ranchhod Madhav* (Exhibit 5) :—

The alleged lender is an old woman, Bai Manchhi. The loans were Rs. 50 each. In order to make the loans she had to have the wherewithal and so she had obviously been coached to say that she had been left an inheritance by her father : no other independent source of income is stated. When, however, at the outset of her examination-in-chief she was asked the direct question by Counsel she said without hesitation that she had not been left any inheritance by her father, and on being asked a second time gave again an emphatic denial. But a minute afterwards when she was allowed to repeat her story by rote she told a long tale of this very inheritance. As everyone saw, she had been taught to repeat this story by heart as a piece of repetition without realising it as a matter of fact. In her evidence about Lallu Hansji, the brother of the Bai Lakhi, she said that both brother and sister had come to see her the same afternoon about the loan, that Lallu has fits and that he had come to sign the document produced in the evening when he got well. His sister, however, had stated in her evidence that her brother had gone to Bulsar that day to see the doctor and had only returned late in the evening. In her re-examination next day therefore Bai Manchhi stated that she had "remembered" during the night "when she had fever" that the brother had really gone to Bulsar. The "document" was written in an old book with a one-anna stamp and she admitted that she had never used such stamps before.

3.—TIMBERVA.

(iv) *Gopal Bhawan* (Exhibit 18):—This man says he "borrowed" Rs. 21 from the wife of his son who lives with him. She says that she had collected the money "in small presents" from relatives. An absurd story.

4.—PARDI KHADOD.

(v) *Jaga Morar* (Exhibit 4):—The amount alleged to have been "borrowed" was really as he admitted, part of the price of land sold to the "lender" which was due to the complainant and there was no loan at all.

(vi) *Parbhu Bhika* (Exhibit 9):—He is a boy of 15. The "lender" refused to give evidence and wrote to say that he knew nothing of the matter. He was summoned, but did not appear and the Counsel for the khatedars took the matter no further.

5.—KHOJ.

(vii) *Natha Bhika* (Exhibit 3):—In this case also the "lender" wrote to say he knew nothing of the matter and declined to appear.

6.—VAGHECH.

(viii) *Bai Jasoda* (Exhibit 8):—My note about this woman's evidence is as follows:—"This woman was obviously lying from start to finish, but much against her will. She was much ashamed of herself and very reluctant to tell the lies she was forced to tell in cross-examination to support her story." Her tale of how two constables removed her furniture was quite irreconcileable with that of her daughter, aged 15, while her story of how she borrowed Rs. 40 from her servant, a Dubla, is quite incredible. He is just an ordinary Dubla without any land who used to be employed in drawing water for the village cattle and the chances of his possessing or still more of being able to lend Rs. 40 are nil inspite of his attempt to account for the transaction from the proceeds of the recent sale of his only bullock.

(ix) *Bawa Bhagwandas* (Exhibit 14):—This is the man in whose house the incidents referred to later on in paragraphs 37 (6) and 38 (2) (*b*) under the head "Police" are alleged to have occurred. By occupation he is the Village priest. He stated on the date of the visit that he had no money, yet on a search of his house the sum of Rs. 39 was found and credited. The "loan" of Rs. 90 paid on the date of visit is alleged to have been arranged for him by one Madhav Ranchdod (Exhibit 15). The evidence of this man is suspect for several reasons and the evidence for the loan itself is nonsensical. The "lender" is a woman, Bai Nani (Exhibit 17), who stated that she lent the money in currency notes which she had had with her for 5-6 years having been given her as gifts at the time of the marriage of her two daughers. She says that her husband knew nothing of her having this money. On the day when she "lent" it her husband himself was in arrears of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 131. From her manner of giving evidence she was clearly telling falsehoods:

(x) *Nana Lallu* (Exhibit 19) :—This man alleged that he borrowed Rs. 20 from his widowed granddaughter, aged 20, who was living with and had been dependent on him since the date of her husband's death 18 months before. The granddaughter herself told an untruthful story stating that she was not living with and was independent of her grandfather owing to an inheritance, which she was forced to withdraw in cross-examination.

(For other untruthful stories from this village see under the head of " Police " later on).

7.—BARDOLI.

(xi) *Musa Ibrahimji* (Exhibit 2) :—He admitted in cross-examination that he had other land not shewn in his statement for which he paid Rs. 11 in cash the next day after the visit out of his own pocket. He admitted that he had this money with him the day before when he had said that he had had to borrow Rs. 10 in order to pay his assessment. His story was therefore entirely false. The " lender " also wrote to me to say that he knew nothing of the matter.

(xii) *Keshav Lala* (Exhibit 14) :—The " lender " is a labourer who gets 8 annas a day and his wife also goes out to work for 4 annas a day. He has land with an assessment of Rs. 50 which he says he has leased for Rs. 150, he paying the assessment. He does no cultivation himself yet was able to produce on the spot for lending Rs. 100 in currency notes.

(xiii) *Lallu Ranchhod* (Exhibit 16) :—My note about this man is :— " He told lies in almost every sentence : not a word of truth in his deposition." He denied knowing his own nephew and also told lies about money which he said he had not paid but which he obviously had paid.

32. The evidence detailed in the last paragraph can only have come about in one of two ways : either the witnesses have been deliberately put up to make false statements or they themselves have given false information which has been taken as true and put before me as such. I am afraid that I am unable to accept the latter alternative, especially when taken in conjunction with the facts given later on under the head of " Police " in connection with the conspiracy to give false evidence against one particular Police Officer. Old Kunbi women and young girls do not make up false stories on their own account and there is no doubt that they were taught to this end. Who is individually responsible for doing this it is not possible to say, but the Congress have been responsible for putting up the case as a whole and they must be held responsible for the details also.

33. In the light of these facts it is at the same time impossible to place any reliance upon any of the stories about borrowing except possibly those where there is a document and two of these have been discredited in the last paragraph. As has previously been pointed out, in only two of the cases where there are no documents is there any corroborative evidence other than that of the borrower and the lender themselves. In view of this fact and the peculiar circumstances of the

case as a whole I should certainly be unable to accept the statements of the khatedars about their borrowings without other good corroborative evidence in any of these instances. It is possible that some, perhaps a good number, may be true stories, but there is no way of distinguishing the true from the false and taken individually they are just as likely to be inventions as those recorded in the last paragraph, and seeing that they are also made in the interests of the witnesses so far as this enquiry is concerned it would be impossible to accept them as they stand. My opinion therefore is that even from the standpoint selected by the Congress this evidence is valueless and no reliance can be placed upon it: and I would remark in conclusion that it is impossible to see how research into such documents as the orders of the Governments of India or Bombay regarding the Delhi Pact could have made any difference favourable to the Congress case when the facts are so clear.

On the comparative basis laid down in the terms of reference there is no evidence to be taken into account at all.

B.—Evidence regarding action taken by the Police.

34. As I have previously remarked in paragraph 4 (*b*), if the first issue is not substained, then that relating to action taken by the Police does not properly arise, as it is only coercion to pay land revenue on the higher standard which is in question according to the terms of reference and not coercion in and by itself. At the same time in view of the allegations which would certainly be made that the whole matter was being hushed up if it were left out of account, I propose to deal with the evidence recorded on the subject of Police action simply as it stands, premising that this evidence is solely that of the khatedars and that none has been taken on behalf of Government except the partly heard statement of the Mamlatdar of Bardoli.

35. The foundation of the allegations of Police coercion is presumably the telegrams sent by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to Mr. Gandhi at Simla on the 17th, 20th and 21st July which are printed in the written statement. I will transcribe the final telegram of 21st here :—

"Police prosecution becoming intolerable . . . Several Timberva peasants not allowed to work by Police: had to go other villages and borrow money heavy interest. To-day reports received that Khoj and Pardi villages surrounded by Police since early morning. Neither people nor cattle allowed to go out. Complete blockade of those who owe money. Police posted several houses Bardoli town blockading entrance. Men women complain filthy abuses harassment. For God's sake allow fight if this cannot be stopped."

In another telegrams of the same date it was also stated "Police broke open backdoor of a Muhommadan of Bardoli. Two children injured: propefty taken out for Rs. 24 for frost year . . . Similar attachments for past arrears continue."

36. I will now proceed to give a summary of the evidence for the different villages. Before giving the details, however, I would first

remark that in no case is there any allegation of force or violence having been used by any policeman, except in that of one Sitaram Ganpat to which I refer in detail below. No khatedar or witness alleges that he was even touched or that any personal restraint was exercised upon him, nor is there any evidence given as to the number of Police alleged to be included in the parties beyond a very occasional remark that they were about "20" or "15—20,". Turning now to the summary of evidence for each village :—

(1) RAYAM.

The general allegations are that in one case Police were placed at the back and front of the house : in another that Police were found in the house when the khatedar arrived : in a third that Police came and forced the back door : in a fourth that 4—5 Police came and said "Pay revenue". Next that "Police were made to come and stay in the house" and that "I was not allowed to enter my house", or that "a sepoy sat and refused to let me enter my house."

(2) MOTI FALOD.

The allegations are the same kind as those made above and details are unnecessary.

(3) TIMBERVA.

One witness (No. 2) stated that he saw no coercion by the Police. In other cases the general allegations are that the khatedars were told not to leave the village nor to take out their cattle before paying their dues but no instance is given of any particular cattle having been restrained : also that the Sub-Inspector of Police sat at the house of Lala Uka with the Aval Karkun and told people to pay when they came.

(4) PARDI KHADOD.

As above for Timberva. The Sub-Inspector of Police sat with the Aval Karkun at a khatedar's house and told people to pay. The Police (in general) said that cattle were not to be released.

(5) KHOJ.

In this village the khatedars stated that they were merely called by the Patel to his house and ordered to pay and told that cattle would be allowed to go out if revenue was paid.

(6) VAGHECH.

At the village the Collector was present and stayed at the house of Bhagwandas and later at that of the Patel where people were called. The allegations against the Police include three cases of distraint by constables on their own account, an alleged entry upon a shrine with shoes on by constables and a Mahomedan talati and the charge against Sitaram Ganpat referred to below in para. 38.

(7) BARDOLI.

Apart from the evidence of two Mahomedans, the first of whom said that 15 Policemen came to his house, told a story of a distraint of property which never took place and was otherwise proved to be lying, and of a second Mahomedan who was also proved to be telling falsehoods about his alleged loan, the only evidence is that the Aval Karkun and the Sub-Inspector sat at one house and told the people to pay revenue when they were called.

37. It is clear that the allegations are mostly of that general and miscellaneous kind which are easy to make and which quoted in the mass give the impression that something bad at any rate must have occurred. Nothing is easier than to say "The Fauzdar abused me" or "told me to pay revenue" or that "4 or 5 constables came to my house" and it is equally easy to create prejudice by quoting such cases at large as though their very number made them true. But ten untruths do not make one truth nor do ten uncorroborated statements make one corroborated statement and no judicial Court would think of taking merely general statements of this kind seriously. Even one case definitely proved would have its effect, but in no case has this been done. In these circumstances and in view of the fact that no rebutting evidence of the Government officers has been heard all I can do is to make remarks on such points regarding which it seems possible to arrive at any definite conclusions on the basis of the evidence produced :—

(1) RAYAM.

The allegations that constables were posted at the front and rear of houses or went in bodies to other houses and other similar statements are obviously untrue. There were only 6 Policemen in all of whom 3—4 were used for guarding the distrained property, while to have done the acts alleged would have needed a small army. It is in evidence that khatedars were allowed to go about freely in order, as they state, to borrow money and it would be simply foolish to prevent them going into their houses to get money in order to pay the assessment. There is also, as I shew below, clear evidence that some of the Rayam people were in the conspiracy against the Policeman Sitaram Ganpat and this must throw doubts over the whole of the statements made in that village.

(2) MOTI FALOD.

Here again the allegations about the actions of the Police are absurd. The actual number in the party was five, whereas in order to carry out the operations described at least 15 or so would have been necessary.

(3) TIMBERVA.

(4) PARDI.

(5) KHOJ.

In these three villages the Aval Karkun was in charge attended by a Sub-Inspector of Police and 6 constables. Here except in a couple of

cases where we get the familiar posting at front and rear the only allegations are that the khatedars were called to the place where the Aval Karkun and Fauzdar were sitting and told to pay up : also that the cattle were not allowed to be taken out. In these cases it is quite possible that the constables were employed to call the khatedars to see the Revenue Officer ; it is also possible that it was ordered not to take the cattle out till the assessment was paid. After all assessment cannot be collected from people who are absent and buffaloes are attachable property. But this is not coercion.

(6) VAGHECH.

The three stories about distraint by Police constables on their own account are uncorroborated except in two cases by the statement of Madhav Ranchhod whose evidence is quite unreliable and in that of Bai Jasoda the story is undoubtedly false as the account given by her is irreconcilable with that given by her daughter. This is the case referred to in paragraph 31 above under No. (viii). Not word was said to the Collector about these alleged incidents though he was on the spot. As for the allegations against Head Constable Sitaram Ganpat attention is invited to paragraph 38. With regard to the alleged entry upon a temple by Police and a Mahomedan talati with shoes on, the facts are as follows :—I have seen the place personally. The scene is the house of the village priest, Bawa Bhagwandas, for whom *vide* paragraph 31 (ix) above. It is an ordinary house with the doorway from the verandah opening directly on to a large room. Round the corner on the right and invisible from outside is a small compartment about 8 ft. square railed off to the ceiling and behind this and quite out of sight except on close inspection is apparently a small private shrine. No one entering the house could possibly know it was there without close scrutiny. What happened was that under the Collector's orders the Talati went inside the house to distrain certain moveable property accompanied by two or three constables. No objection whatever was taken by the Bawa to this action either then or at any other time, even though the Collector was on the spot. This incident is now sought to be turned into a case of profanation of a shrine

(7) BARDOLI.

No particular remarks are necessary regarding this village. With the allegation made in Mr. Vallabhbhai's telegram of 20th July regarding assault and damage at the house of a Mahomedan I deal below in paragraph 38.

38. In the remarks on the allegations made in the village of Rayam above I have referred to a conspiracy against a certain Policeman, Sitaram Ganpat, of which I will now furnish details. As is clear from the evidence given in this enquiry this Constable had made himself obnoxious to the Congress workers in the Bardoli taluka for political reasons and the enquiry was taken as a good opportunity to have revenge by bringing him into trouble. To this end the following series of incidents was trumped up against him in 3 different villages :—

1.—RAYAM.

Sitaram is mentioned by two witnesses as having been present among the party which visited this village and one of them, Lallu Naran, (No. 12), stated that Sitaram escorted him to his house and threatened him with distraint of his property. He also stated definitely that he knows Sitaram "very well". But actually Sitaram was not among the party. His name does not appear in the list furnished by the District Superintendent of Police and the Mamlatdar also says he was not there, and as he is admitted as having been present in Vaghech and Bardoli where much more serious incidents are alleged to have occurred there would be no point in denying his presence in Rayam had he been among the party.

2.—VAGHECH.

(*a*) Two old women, Bai Gomti (Exhibit 2), and Bai Bhikhi (Exhibit 5), aged 60 and 65 respectively, stated, the first that Sitaram headed a body of Police who came and threatened her with distraint of property and the latter that he had broken open her cupboard. The statement of the latter is illuminating, her exact words being: "I cannot see very well, and I cannot say who broke open my cupboard. Sitaram himself broke it open." No reasons could be given for this conclusion. On being cross-examined they both admitted that they would not be able to recognise him if he were produced before them and that they were half-blind. It was perfectly clear that they had been told to bring in Sitaram's name somehow and that they had done it

(*b*) In this same village Ramdas Guru Bhagwandas (Exhibit 17), who is the *chela* of the village priest, stated that while he was on the threshold of the shrine in the house Sitaram pulled him out, abused him, took him by the neck and dragged him out, and then paraded him holding by the arm round the village to look for his master. He admits that at the time the Collector, Mr. Kothawala was sitting within a few feet of the place on the verandah, and stated that he was dragged past him, yet admits that he made no complaint nor did the Collector take any notice. Of this story, however, he brings no corroboration whatever though many people must have been on the spot, and he admits that while he was being taken through the village he met no one. The whole story is an obvious invention.

3.—BARDOLI.

Still more illuminating is a story of which no evidence was actually given, but which appears in the general statement of evidence to be given for the village submitted by Counsel. I give the details in full :—

"*Ismail Sale Acchla*:—He was in his fields transplanting rice. When the Police entered his house by breaking open the rear doors and began to take out his belongings his nephew went to call him. On his return he saw that all his belongings were taken out of the house and were lying in the rains in the street. The womenfolk were crying. His daughter

Rokaiya aged about 16 was injured on the head. His infant daughter aged 7 or 8 months was also injured. The dung floor of the house was damaged by the removal of big boxes fixed therein. When he told the Police that they ought not to have done all that mischief. . . . Sitaram Jamadar asked him abusively to shut up otherwise he would be fired at."

Here is a comprehensive story involving not merely damage to property but also injury to a girl and a baby and the guilt of Sitaram, and one too which could have been proved if any could, yet the khatedar does not appear. The only conclusion which can be drawn is that the story as it stands is an invention meant to involve Sitaram in trouble if possible, but was withdrawn as impossible to prove.

39. Tested by the facts given above the allegations made in Mr. Vallabhbhai's telegrams seem to vanish into somewhat thin air, so far as these villages are concerned. Of Police persecution such as could be termed "intolerable" there is no trace at all and even on the evidence as it stands the utmost that could be said is that possibly the Police were used to tell people to see the Revenue Officer before going to their fields and even on this point the rebutting evidence of the Officers concerned has not been heard. The force which is alleged to have completely surrounded and blockaded the two large and straggling villages of Khoj and Pardi, which are situated side by side and were dealt with on the same morning, was 6 constables, and in Bardoli there is no complaint at all about harassment and filthy abuse while the story of the breaking open of the backdoor of a Muhammadan's house and the assault on two children is not even attempted to be proved. In fact it is pretty clear that this latter incident which formed the subject of a special telegram to Mr. Gandhi was in its existing shape one of a series meant to involve Head Constable Sitaram Ganpat in serious trouble on account of his anti-Congress activities.

General Conclusions.

40. I may now sum up my general conclusions as follows :—

(1) As regards the first issue, there is no evidence at all that khatedars in the villages concerned were forced to pay revenue on a higher standard than that adopted in other villages of the same taluka after March 5th. As regards the evidence produced, even on the ground selected by the Congress, that of the "no borrowing standard", which itself was never attempted to be proved, that evidence must be pronounced highly unreliable and in some cases deliberately false, while the cases of some 25 per cent. of the complainants do not fall within the terms of reference ;

(2) As for the second issue regarding the allegation that the excess payments were enforced by coercion exercised through the Police, in view of the failure of proof under the first issue it does not properly arise. Taking the allegations however, as they stand, even without the rebutting evidence of the Officers concerned the only charge which could stand as requiring investigation is that of using the Police to call khatedars

to see the Revenue Officer and telling them not to go to their fields or loose their cattle till they had done so ; and this is not coercion. In any case suspicion is thrown over the whole matter by the deliberate attempts made to involve one particular Police Officer in trouble by trumping up false charges against him ;

(3) The third issue, that of the excess amounts paid, does not arise.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. G. GORDON,

Special Enquiry Officer, Bardoli.

Appendix A.

List of complainant khatedars and sums paid.

Running No.	Village No.	Name.	Amount. For village concerned. At visit.	Amount. For village concerned. After visit.	Amount. For other villages. At visit.	Amount. For other villages. After visit.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Rayam.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1	1	Dahya Lala ..	26 0 0	..	..	..
2	2	Dahya Kala ..	6 2 0	..	..	..
3	3	Chhita Parbhu ..	100 0 0	..	..	..
4	4	Rama Daya ..	30 9 0	..	..	..
5	5	Bai Kunver ..	43 0 0	40 0 0	..	..
6	6	Chhita Bhikha ..	5 0 0	..	..	..
7	7	Dayal Lala ..	40 15 0	..	..	..
8	8	Morar Galal ..	25 0 0	..	..	..
9	9	Lallu Naran ..	25 0 0	..	..	..
10	10	Dullabh Morar ..	30 0 0	..	..	..
11	11	Bai Motli ..	100 0 0	..	..	..
		Total ..	431 10 0	40 0 0	..	..
		Moti Falod.				
12	1	Makan Chhita ..	132 6 0	..	..	..
13	2	Bai Pemi ..	73 0 0	..	..	..
14	3	Bai Lakhi ..	46 0 0	..	..	..
15	4	Ranchhod Madhav ..	111 10 0	..	..	..
16	5	Dhana Ganesh ..	31 10 0	..	..	..
17	6	Ganesh Mitha ..	98 11 0	..	..	..
		Total ..	493 5 0	..	..	..

Running No.	Village No.	Name.	Amount.			
			For village concerned.		For other villages.	
			At visit.	After visit.	At visit.	After visit.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Timberva.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
18	1	Dahya Ranchhod ..	34 3 0	34 0 0	..	38 5 0
19	2	Kunverji Jivan ..	150 13 0	..	..	..
20	3	Lala Jivan ..	62 1 0	..	..	..
21	4	Babar Rama ..	6 0 0	20 9 0	..	..
22	5	Hira Kunverji ..	..	159 9 0	..	64 1 0
23	6	Bhula Harkha ..	..	110 0 0	..	39 15 0
24	7	Natha Jivan ..	49 14 0	..	..	..
25	8	Punjia Deva ..	6 0 0	..	..	..
26	9	Gopal Bhawan ..	21 0 0	..	..	..
27	10	Parshotam Dahya ..	90 7 0	..	..	10 0 0
		Total ..	420 6 0	324 2 0	..	152 5 0
		Pardi Kadod.				
28	1	Naran Mithal ..	30 0 0	..	..	..
29	2	Khusal Morar ..	30 0 0	..	..	..
30	3	Jaga Morar ..	59 6 0	..	39 1 0	..
31	4	Jaga Gopal ..	50 0 0	..	20 9 0	..
32	5	Dahya Bhula ..	37 8 0	..	..	..
33	6	Parbhu Bhikha	65 0 0	..	..	..
		Total ..	271 14 0	..	59 10 0	..
		Khoj.				
34	1	Kalidas Nathu ..	30 0 0	..	..	..
35	2	Natha Bhikha ..	77 10 0	..	7 13 0	..
36	3	Bhikha Ratanji ..	..	..	32 5 0	..
37	4	Nagar Nathu ..	58 2 0	..	16 14 0	..
38	5	Lala Govan ..	22 11 0	..	35 8 0	..
39	6	Hansji Bhikha ..	..	..	80 0 0	..
40	7	Naran Mavji ..	11 6 0	..	13 0 0	..
41	8	Bhula Madhav ..	7 4 0	..	12 10 0	..
42	9	Lala Uka ..	4 6 0	..	59 8 0	..
		Total ..	211 7 0	..	257 10 0	..

Running No.	Village No.	Name.	Amount. For village concerned. At visit.			After visit.			For other villages. At visit.			After visit.		
1	2	3	4			5			6			7		
		Vaghech Sarbhon.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
43	1	Govind Naran (Khatedar Bhikha Naran).	40	0	0	..			..			..		
44	2	Bhula Vallabh ..	40	0	0	..			..			..		
45	3	Natha Madhav ..	40	0	0	15	13	0	..			..		
46	4	Bai Jasoda ..	40	0	0	..			..			..		
47	5	Bai Sami ..	50	0	0	43	1	0	..			8	0	0
48	6	Bava Bhagwandas Guru Laxmandas.	139	2	0	35	2	0	..			..		
49	7	Nana Lallu ..	20	0	0	..			..			..		
50	8	Bai Bhani ..	20	0	0	30	1	0	..			..		
51	9	Hira alias Bhana Bava.	25	0	0	..			..			..		
52	10	Bhikha Kuber ..	..			23	0	0	..			..		
		Total ..	414	2	0	147	1	0	..			8	0	0
		Bardoli.												
53	1	Ahmed Mahmud Lasania.	..			13	12	0	50	0	0	..		
54	2	Musa Abhramji Behra..	..			..			10	0	0	..		
55	3	Vallabh Naran ..	28	6	0	..			..			..		
56	4	Lallu Vallabh ..	19	0	0	..			..			..		
57	5	Ranchhod Natha ..	8	5	0	..			..			..		
58	6	Madhav Ranchhod ..	39	10	0	..			..			..		
59	7	Narsinh Mulji ..	10	12	0	..			..			..		
60	8	Keshav Lala ..	58	3	0	..			..			..		
61	9	Lallu Ranchhod ..	..			25	5	0	..			..		
62	10	Ranchhod Govind ..	18	0	0	..			..			..		
		Total ..	182	4	0	39	1	0	60	0	0	..		
		Grand Total ..	2,425	0	0	550	4	0	377	4	0	160	5	0

Statement of the Congress Case.

During the course of the Civil Disobedience movement the no-tax campaign was adopted and carried out among others by the khatedars of Bardoli and Borsad Talukas. The khatedars of several villages migrated out of British territories and in most of the instances the crops remained unharvested or if harvested the yield was comparatively small.

As a result of conversations between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin an agreement was entered into which was published in the *Gazette of India* dated the 5th March, 1931, whereby a truce was declared. The material portion of that agreement was as follows :—

"16. (*a*) Moveable property which is not an illegal possession and which has been seized in connection with the civil disobedience movement, under the Ordinances or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is still in the possession of Government.

(*b*) Moveable property forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue or other dues will be returned unless the Collector of the district has reason to believe that the defaulter will contumaciously refuse to pay the dues recoverable from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulters, while willing to pay, genuinely require time for the purpose and if necessary the revenue will be suspended in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(*c*) Compensation will not be given for deterioration.

(*d*) Where moveable property has been sold or otherwise finally disposed of by Government compensation will not be given and the sale-proceeds will not be returned except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(*e*) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law."

Soon after the conclusion of the agreement Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai and the other Congress workers felt it their duty to facilitate and assist in the collection of the land revenue which had remained unpaid and Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai devoted a considerable portion of their time and energy in this matter. After considerable collections had been made in Borsad and Bardoli Talukas, defaulters notices were issued on several khatedars in the Bardoli and Borsad Talukas. From time to time Mahatma Gandhi had publicly called upon verbally or by written communications the peasants to pay up the taxes according to the measure of their respective abilities. One

of the typical appeals is annexed hereto and marked A and a translation thereof is as follows :—

"To the khatedars of the Kaira District."

With reference to my writing in *Navjivan* that no khatedar is obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt I write the following with a view to make the matter more clear :—

1. Whether the khatedar has gone in "Hijarat" or not but if he has suffered substantially by reason of Satyagraha movement such khatedar is not obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt.

2. Those who have not taken part in the satyagraha movement or having taken such part have not suffered substantially the duty of such khatedar is to pay the revenue even if it becomes necessary to incur debt for such purpose.

3. The khatedars covered by item No. 1 should realise that in my opinion their interest lies in keeping the truce. I shall make every endeavour to get suspension of their land revenue up to next year but if I fail the peasants will have to undergo considerable suffering and this suggestion does not apply to those who are not prepared to undergo such suffering."

All these appeals were issued with the tacit if not an active approval of the District Officers.

During the course of the correspondence with Mr. Perry, the then Collector of Kaira, Mahatma Gandhi defined his view of "the ability to pay" as "ability to pay without having to resort to borrowing after the peasant's actual tangible means were exhausted" and Mr. Perry agreed with that view. Relevant portions of the said correspondence are as follows :—

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. Perry dated May 3, 1931 :—

* * * * *

"It is common cause between us that the people should pay revenue to the utmost of their capacity. I know that in defining the word 'capacity' there may be difference or there is a difference as I now see from your letter. During our talk I thought that you agreed that no one need borrow money in order to pay the revenue dues. I am carrying out that healthy formula. I know that it has not been carried out before and may not be carried out in future. In any case for this exceptional year I think that there is no way out of it as I hope to show conclusively in due course. This of course does not mean that those who wish to pay by borrowing should be prevented by me from doing so. Only I could not take it upon me to press them to do so.

* * * * *

Letter from Mr. Perry to Mahatma Gandhi :—

* * * * *

I agree with you about borrowing on interest. We do not exclude I think arrangements amongst friends or the like.

Mahatma Gandhi made similar appeals to the khatedars of the Bardoli Taluka and the response was very great. A very large portion of the revenue of the Bardoli Taluka and the Valod Mahal was paid up by the khatedars at the request and with the assistance of the Congress organisation before the end of June. Even then Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai did not spare any efforts to invite further payments within the measure of the ability of the khatedars.

After the first large collections were made correspondence took place from time to time objecting to the use of any coercive processes against khatedars to exact further payments. During the course of that correspondence Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that though no remission was asked for on account of the voluntary sufferings of the peasants during the civil disobedience movement the fact of actual privation of their means could not possibly be ignored in considering the question of their ability to pay particularly because of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

Rains set in on or about the 10th of June in the Bardoli Taluka and sowing or transplanting operations commenced in or about the beginning of July.

On the 8th of July a police party raided the village of Varad practically supplanting the revenue officers in the matter of collecting land revenue. From the 17th of July onwards regular police campaign was inaugurated for the purpose of revenue collections. The villages concerned were the following :—

Rayam, Khoj, Pardi (Kadod), Moti Falod, Timberva, Rajpara-Lumbha, Alghat, Jamnia, Goddha, Nava Falia (Valod).

On receiving information Sardar Vallabhbhai wired to Mahatma Gandhi about the police raids and the illegal means employed for collecting further revenue as Mahatma Gandhi had then gone to Simla. The telegrams are as follows :—

Bardoli, 17th July 1931.

Since Surat interview pressure collection increased probably after reference Commissioner *stop* Collector arrived here last evening local revenue authorities with Ismail Desai and fifteen police constables raided Rayam village for collection previous years' arrears attached property including cots, beds, cooking utensils belonging Daya Kala who had already paid current year's revenue all attached property removed *stop* Peasants in midst agricultural operations find themselves between devil and deep sea urgent solution one way or other imperative.

VALLABHBHAI.

Bardoli, 20th July 1931.

Mahatma Gandhi, Simla.

Since my last telegram village raids continue police parties raided several villages to-day. Wire probable arrival.

VALLABHBHAI.

Bardoli, 21st July 1931.

Mahatma Gandhi, Simla.

Police broke open backdoor of a Mahomedan of Bardoli two children hurt property taken out for twenty four rupees arrears for frost year he had paid last year two years' full dues similar attachments for past arrears continue.

VALLABHBHAI.

Bardoli, 21st July 1931.

Mahatma Gandhi, Simla.

Police persecution becoming intolerable crowds of peasants rushing Ashram with complaints yesterday several families of Sankali remained closed doors Police patrolling in front all day several Timberva peasants not allowed to work by police had to go other villages and borrow money heavy interest Rajpura peasants dragged to Timberva by police to-day reports received that Khoj and Pardi villages completely surrounded by police since early morning neither people nor cattle allowed to go out complete blockade of those who owe money police posted several houses Bardoli town blockading entrance men women complain filthy abuses harassment for God's sake allow fight if this cannot be stopped.

VALLABHBHAI.

The khatedars in all the villages abovementioned where Police were employed have given statements to the Congress organisation and the circumstances attending the police raids and the manner in which each individual was coerced into making the payment which he or she did and the amount thereof. So far as the Congress organisation is aware there is no other khatedar who has a complaint to make in connection with this matter and after the preliminary discussion as to the procedure the Congress organisation will furnish the particulars of the khatedars and the villages from time to time as they are taken up for inquiry.

The result of the conversations at Simla is embodied in the communique which is as follows whereby among other measures the Congress requisition of demanding the present inquiry was agreed to. The communique is as follows :—

"3. In regard to collections of land revenue in the Surat District the point in issue is whether in those villages of Bardoli Taluka and Valod Mahal which were visited by revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931 more severe demands having regard to their material circumstances were made from revenue payers and enforced by coercion exercised through the police than were made from and met by revenue payers of other villages of the Bardoli Taluka. The Government of India in consultation and full agreement with the Government of Bombay have decided that an inquiry shall be held into this issue in accordance with the following terms of reference.

TERMS OF REFERENCE.

To inquire into the allegations that khatedars in the villages in question were compelled by means of coercion exercised through the police to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bardoli Taluka where collections were effected after March 5, 1931, without the assistance of the police and to ascertain what sum, if any, was so paid.

Within the terms of reference evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute.

The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector, Nasik, to hold the inquiry."

Thereafter Mr. Gordon, the Inquiry Officer, issued the following publication on the eve of the opening of the inquiry:

The Government of India in consultation with the Government of Bombay had agreed in their public despatch, dated August 28, 1931, to order inquiries into the allegations made in connection with the land revenue collections in some of the villages of Bardoli Taluka and Valod Mahal of the Surat District. This Inquiry will begin on October 5, 1931, at Bardoli town.

The terms of reference for this inquiry are as follows and they will be strictly adhered to :—" After March 5, 1931, the land revenue collections were made without the help of the police in the villages of Bardoli taluka.

Allegations have been made that demand was made for a larger land revenue from the khatedars of certain villages and that they were forced to pay more by coercion through the police than what they would have paid if the method adopted in the other villages was resorted to.

" An inquiry into these allegations and as regards the total amount of additional land revenues thus collected will be made. Subject to these terms of reference evidence can be led on the disputes in question.

" A preliminary discussion regarding the method of the inquiry to be followed will take place at Bardoli. Thereafter a visit will be paid to these villages. All proofs and evidence subject to these terms of reference will have to be led and the necessary issues of the inquiry will be raised.

" If any man or a public body or a society wishes to correspond with the Inquiry Officer he should send the communication to him to the address of the office of the Collector of Nasik District up to September 30th, thereafter he should either write or see him personally at Bardoli Camp."

The points for determination in the inquiry therefore are :—

1. Whether the police was employed in connection with the collection of land revenue in the abovementioned villages.

2. What were the acts and conduct of the police officials and subordinates in connection with these matters.

3. What was the amount of revenue collected from the khatedars as the result of employment of the police.

4. Whether the revenue so collected was in excess of what would have been collected if the standard which had been applied to other villages was observed in reference to the villages in question—or in other words—was any revenue paid in excess of what would have been paid, by reason of the employment of the police which was an illegal method not sanctioned by the Land Revenue Code. As regards the "standard" it has been maintained throughout the assistance given by the Congress in collection of land revenue after the truce that the only fair and sensible standard to adopt is the measure of individual ability to pay having regard to the actual financial state of the khatedar concerned (not omitting from consideration the fact that his means had suffered by reason of the Hijrat).

Within two days after the inquiry was agreed to Mahatma Gandhi proceeded to England and it became necessary to get a statement from him relating to the basis of the Agreement. The Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following statement :—

"With reference to the revenue collections in Bordoli and Borsad it was from the very beginning a clear understanding that the khatedars affected by the civil disobedience were to pay only as much as they could without borrowing. This was repeatedly brought out in the conversations between the Collector Mr. Perry of Kaira and his successor Mr. Bhadrapur and Mr. Kothawalla, Collector of Surat. The correspondence carried on with them confirms this statement. So far as the terms of reference to the Enquiry Officer are concerned, I have distinctly understood that the standard referred to therein means ability to pay without borrowing."

From the general trend of the public statements, it appears that the Government seek to justify the presence of the police on the ground that they were taken to different villages as a means of protection to the Revenue Officers, that the revenue officers alone carried out the revenue collection operation and that the police took no part in any such measures. It is further stated that the measures were taken against persons who were able to pay, but contumaciously declined or refused to pay. The payments which according to the statements given by the khatedars concerned were recovered between the 17th and 24th under coercion and by resorting to measures not sanctioned by the Land Revenue Code and with the assistance of the police or by the police have been claimed by the Government as payments which were made voluntarily and promptly as soon as it came to be known that coercive processes would be adopted and also as showing that the khatedars who paid were well able to pay. The khatedars deny this version and the method and means by which revenue was collected with the assistance of the police between the 17th and the 24th July in the several villages abovementioned. They maintain that the recoveries were made by police coercion and illegal processes and that the payments made were beyond their ability to pay.

These are substantially the two versions of the events which have got to be tested in this inquiry. For the purpose of giving a fair outline of the case I am giving below the details of two villages of Rayam and Timberva :—

RAYAM.

This village was raided on the 17th of July 1931. The raiding party consisted of the Mamlatdar, Mr. Esmail Desai, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Sitaram Jamadar and Dayabhai, a clerk, Patel and Talati and 15 to 20 constables. It was raining on that day and the khatedars were busy in their fields transplanting rice. The raiding party arrived at the village at about 10 in the morning and Vethias were sent out to the fields to call the khatedars and the khatedars were asked to accompany them to the Saheb. Police were posted at the house of various khatedars and nobody was allowed to enter such house or go out of it. The khatedars on returning from the fields were not allowed to enter their respective houses. Demand notices were handed to them there and then and they were asked to make payments immediately, and were informed that unless they did so they would not be allowed to go into their houses. The police would not allow food to be taken to the fields where Dublas were working and the Dublas remained without food.

The police made attachments on two houses and all the articles were taken out in the street and left in the rain. Among the articles so attached were those which were not liable to attachment under the Land Revenue Code. In case of one of the persons the articles were returned on his making payment of Rs. 25. Only Re. 1 was found from among his articles. In the case of the other, articles worth about Rs. 600 including unattachable articles are still in the police custody in the village Chora. This khatedar had paid Rs. 235 towards his current year's dues out of Rs. 272 and he has been given credit for Rs. 27 recovered from the sale-proceeds of his rice-stock taken in attachment. The rice-stock was worth about Rs. 350. Rs. 6-1-9 were found in cash among the articles taken from his house.

In case of two other khatedars a police broke open the locks of their houses and no Punch was called. The village people were generally abused and a threat was held out that the properties of those who did not pay up the arrears of revenue in full would be sold away and their lands would be lost like those in the village of Babla.

In the case of khatedar Bhikha Kalian his lands were forfeited and sold and the crops were taken by the purchaser. It now appears that through some error in the sale-deed two small plots of 21 and 31 gunthas were not included and they continue to remain therefore in his name. The khatedar was under the belief that as his lands are all sold away he had not any land revenue to pay the more so because he knew that all the crops had been taken away by the purchaser. This khatedar was called upon to pay Rs. 43-0-10 presumably the revenue attributable to the portion not included in the sale-deed. He ultimately paid Rs. 5 under protest when the police were removed from his house where they were posted.

TIMBERWA.

This village was raided on the 20th of July 1931 early in the morning. The raiding party consisted of Mr. Dave, the Aval Karkun, Mr. Shaikh, the Fouzdar, and about 12 to 13 policemen. The police were posted at various houses in the village and cattle were not allowed to be taken out for grazing and some were actually driven back. It had been raining and transplanting was going on and the villagers and their Dublas were not allowed to go out to their fields. Vethias were sent to fetch those who had left early and after this detention of the khatedars and their cattle threats were given by the police that if the khatedars did not pay up the arrears of revenue in full their property would be attached and sold away. The police entered some of the houses of the khatedars who will give evidence before the Inquiring Officer. Being terrorised by the above threats the khatedars borrowed several sums of money and made some payments beyond the measure of their ability to pay.

This statement of the case will I hope be sufficient to enable us now to discuss the outline.

(Sd.) BHULABHAI DESAI.

Counsel for the Indian National Congress and
5th October 1931. the Khatedars concerned in this Inquiry.

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The Police Report

on the

Bombay Riots of February 1929

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THE POLICE REPORT ON THE BOMBAY RIOTS—February 1929

Origin and spread of the riots

The Bombay riots of February 1929 had their origin in the false rumours about the kidnapping of children by Pathans in a red car, which, subsequent enquiries went to show, first began with the school children attending the Municipal schools in Bombay. On the 24th January 1929 Mrs. Yesubai Thali, head mistress of the Kandewadi Girls' School, Girgaum, sent a report to the Secretary, Municipal Schools Committee, as follows :—

> "I beg to report that owing to the spread of rumours among the public that the Pathans are kidnapping children from the streets, the average attendance of girls in the school is going down. Some steps may please be taken as soon as possible to remove this misunderstanding of the people."

Another report on the kidnapping scare was made by Mr. Vishnu Sadashiv Bhide, head master, Municipal School, DeLisle Road, on the 28th January 1929, to the Superintendent, Municipal Marathi School, which was sent to the Secretary, Schools Committee, for disposal on the 29th January 1929. It runs as follows :—

> "I beg to report that owing to the spread of rumours during these four days that the Pathans are kidnapping children from the streets the absenteeism in the school has considerably increased. Children do not attend even when sent for."

On the 4th February 1929 two other teachers complained to the Secretary, Municipal Schools Committee, as follows :—

> "This is to inform you that on account of the rumour, namely, 'the children are kidnapped' and on account of the disturbance that took place this morning at DeLisle Road, there has been a widespread consternation in this locality. On account of the above reason not a single child attended our school. Similarly there are no children attending the neighbouring schools. On account of this condition we the teachers are sitting idle in the school."

> "This is to report to you that in the above school (Rambhabai Gujerati Kanya Shala) 10 children out of 49 have attended the school. The number of the girls and boys is very small and it is heard that the children are being kidnapped by the Pathans. So long as these rumours continue to be afloat, the parents are not willing to send their children to the school."

And on the 5th February 1929 the head mistress of the Gujerati Girls' School, Princess Street, complained to the Secretary a follows :—

> "This is to inform you that the current rumours in Bombay have caused a stir in the localities of our school. On account of this the presence in the school has been greatly affected. Besides after 12·30 mid-day not a single girl remained in the school. As

the situation is developing seriously every hour, the teachers who were present were allowed to leave the school at 3-30 p.m. and the school has been closed. In these circumstances I shall not be able to come to receive my pay."

In view of these complaints from the teachers, Mr. Parulekar, Secretary, Schools Committee, addressed me a letter on 5th February 1929, as follows :—

"I have the honour to state that some head teachers of Municipal Schools are reporting that a rumour is set afloat that the school children are enticed away by Mavali Pathans and hence the attendance of children is decreasing day by day in the Municipal Schools.

I have to enquire as to whether any such case has come to the knowledge of the Police and if so to request you to please take some precautionary measures to stop the mischief."

On the 6th February 1929 the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Crime, replied to him as follows :—

"With reference to your letter No. E/8058 of 1928-29, dated the 5th instant, I have the honour to state that the rumours about Pathans kidnapping children are groundless as far as the Police know. Not a single complaint has been lodged with the Police of Pathans having kidnapped children."

The Secretary, Mr. Parulekar, was examined and he said that he did not inform the Schools Committee immediately on receipt of complaints from the various schools, because he did not believe in the truth of the kidnapping scare.

On the 30th January 1929 the Principal of the Marwadi Vidyalaya High School received the following letter from the father of a Marwari boy attending the school :—

"I called upon twice to see you but I feel sorry to hear of your sickness. I wanted to inform you what I have heard from dear Vithaldas, the student of the I class junior. While he left school on the 28th evening at 5 p.m. he got up in the tram at Sandhurst Road Tram Terminus. No sooner he sat by the side of the front window, one Pathan who was talking with the driver of the same tram asked the driver that 'this boy is mine and I want to take him with me.' The driver in reply told him to take. Thereupon the Pathan who was standing on the ground just near the window asked Vithaldas to follow him. He being very young was 'ghabrified' and wept. One another student—his class fellow—murmured something. Seeing this accident the Pathan left the place and went away. Under the circumstances I am led to believe that if that man was a Pathan the driver should also be a Pathan. I think it advisable to bring the matter before the Police or C. I. D. I am a business man and so I can hardly get time to devote my attention on the subject. I therefore shall feel highly obliged to you if you kindly take necessary steps into the matter."

The Principal of the Marwadi Vidyalaya School did not send me the complaint till the 4th February 1929 when he wrote me as follows :—

> " I have the honour to send herewith a letter from the guardian of a boy studying in the Standard 1st of our School.
>
> I am very sorry I could not forward the same owing to my illness.
>
> I shall be grateful to you if you can make the necessary enquiry."

Enquiries were made but the alleged Pathan could not be traced.

On 1st February 1929 Mr. S. G. Warty residing at Topiwalla Laxmi Building, Grant Road, wrote to me as follows :—

> " My boy who attends the Imperial High School in the 4th Standard informs me that near the Foras Road to-day there was some scare that some boys were kidnapped by Pathans and were released after some efforts by a crowd. I asked a teacher in the school and he told me a similar story. For some days past I have been hearing some such stories but I have not believed them. But matters have come to such a stage that it is difficult to disbelieve the stories. I have two children attending vernacular schools, one daughter and one boy attending the English school. Others too are anxious like myself. Is there any truth in the story ? Can the Commissioner of Police advise us not to be anxious about the matter ? I wonder if the Police know about these things and have already taken the necessary precautions.
>
> In any case in view of the scare that prevails, some public assurance on the matter by the police is urgently called for."

The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Crime, replied to his letter on the 5th February 1929 as follows :—

> " With reference to your letter of the 1st, I write to inform you that the rumour that Pathans are kidnapping children is absolutely without foundation. No such offences have been reported to the police."

On the evening of Saturday, 2nd February 1929, a crowd of Parsis and Hindus assaulted a Pathan motor driver who was driving a red car (No. 813) with two Sindhi gentlemen in it on Sleater Road at about 9 p.m. The car was smashed and the occupants roughly handled, because of a rumour that the occupants had kidnapped some children. This was the first known attack in connection with the kidnapping scare. Subsequent enquiries made in this connection showed that as a matter of fact no actual case of kidnapping was reported to any of the police stations in the city. The news of the kidnapping scare appeared for the first time in the press, on the morning of 3rd February, when the *Indian National Herald, Kaiser-I-Hind, Indian Daily Mail, Nava Kal* and the *Sandesh* published the rumours about the kidnapping of children by Pathans.

From the above it will be seen that rumours were afloat in the city for more than a week before the 2nd February that children were

being kidnapped. But it is remarkable that no reference was made to them in the press until the 3rd February and that I did not receive one report about them either from the Divisional police or from the C. I. D. The presumption is that the rumours were not very widespread or were regarded as of no consequence. In fact police station officers explain their failure to report the kidnapping scare officially on the ground that they had no information about it.

On Sunday, *3rd February*, at about midday I was informed by 'phone that there was some excitement at Bhendi Bazaar in connection with the kidnapping scare. A Greek Engineer named Christopher Coulodis, fourth Engineer of the s.s. "Newton Beech," was waiting for a tram car at about 11 a.m. at the junction of Bhendi Bazaar and Sandhurst Road when he felt a young lad picking his pocket which contained £3 in Egyptian notes. A cry was raised by the boy that he was being kidnapped. Immediately a large Muhammadan crowd collected and the Greek Engineer was assaulted. Just at this time two sergeants, who were passing by, went to his rescue. The sergeants succeeded with some difficulty in taking the Greek Engineer into a tea shop known as the Subhanullah Restaurant. The crowd began to stone the restaurant causing damage to its furniture to the extent of about Rs. 300. Police reinforcements soon arrived, rescued the Greek and dispersed the crowd. The lad who attempted to pick the pocket of the Greek Engineer was charged with disorderly behaviour by the Maharbouri Police Station and put up before the bench of Honorary Magistrates who sentenced him to pay a fine of Re. 1.

At about 11-40 a.m. a Muhammadan named Mohammad Khan Abdulla Khan residing at Bhaiyya's chawl, 10th lane, Kamatipura, found a Muhammadan boy aged 4 years, crying at Foras Road junction as he had lost his way. When he was taking him to the Lamington Road Police Station the crowd seeing the boy crying followed them. A Pathan named Ahmed Din Shasha Din who happened to be standing on the footpath opposite the liquor shop at the junction of Foras Road was suspected by the crowd to have kidnapped children and was assaulted with sticks. The police guard at Lamington Road went to his rescue, dispersed the crowd and removed the Pathan to hospital. The boy corroborated the story of the Muhammadan and he was eventually restored to his parents by the Nagpada Police.

At about 11-45 a.m. a Hindu carpenter named Bhima Daya was fatally assaulted by a crowd of mill-hands in Maruti lane off Fergusson Road on suspicion that he was a kidnapper. He was removed to the hospital where he subsequently died. None of the assailants could be traced. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At about 1 p.m. a Pathan named Bismilla Shah Abdulla Shah was suspected of being a kidnapper and assaulted by a mob of about 300 Kamatis in 13th lane, Kamatipura. The police immediately repaired to the spot and dispersed the crowd. The Pathan was removed to the hospital.

At about 1 p.m. 5 Iranis, who were dealers in jewellery, foreign coins, cutlery, etc., came to Kalbadevi Road to make some purchases. A huge crowd collected as a rumour spread that they were kidnappers. The police however arrived in time and dispersed the crowd and took the 5 Iranis to the police station where it was ascertained that they were *bona fide* traders residing at Kurla. They had certificates from high officials in proof of their antecedents and trade connections. This allayed the suspicion of the people and the 5 Iranis were discharged under section 85 of Act IV of 1902.

At about 1 p.m. 2 Gurkhas were going along Girgaum Road. They were suspected to be Pathan kidnappers and when the crowd began to chase them, one of the Gurkhas took to his heels through fear and the other, named Jangbahadursingh Baksarbahadursingh who remained behind was assaulted by a crowd of Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians with belts, shoes, etc. The public came to his rescue and he was removed to the G. T. Hospital from where he was discharged on the 22nd February 1929. Enquiries showed that the Gurkha was a cooly in the Moorarji Gokaldas mill, Parel. He was not in a position to identify his assailants. A case under sections 147 and 324, Indian Penal Code, was subsequently registered.

At about 2 p.m. the police guard at Lamington Road Police Station saw a crowd collected at the junction of Lamington Road and Grant Road and on proceeding there they found a Hindu boy Piru Hari, aged about 15 years, addressing the crowd and saying that he was caught by a Pathan who tried to remove him in a taxi car at the foot of Grant Road bridge. The boy was brought to the police station and examined. According to the statement made by him, a Parsi, name and address not known, met the boy at midday and asked him to spread a rumour that a Pathan attempted to kidnap him in a taxi car. The boy thereupon went home and repeated the story to his father but made no mention about the instigation by the Parsi. The father of the boy was frightened. He therefore took the boy to Rustomji & Co., Abid House, Lamington Road, where he was employed and told the employers of the boy that in consequence of what had happened he would not allow the boy to work in the shop for a few days. Nothing untoward happened afterwards in connection with this incident. It may be noted that the Parsi could not be traced and that Piru Hari stated that his story about kidnapping was false.

At about 4-30 p.m. 3 Pathans who were travelling in a tram car going towards Parel had an altercation with the ticket inspector in regard to their tickets. They were made to get down near the Dinshaw Petit mill at Lalbaug where mill hands suspecting them to be kidnappers severely assaulted them. The police dispersed the crowd and removed the injured Pathans to hospital.

At about 7-15 p.m. a Pathan who was passing along Suparibaug Road was assaulted by a crowd of mill hands without any reason. The residents of the locality came to his rescue and the Pathan was removed to the hospital by the police. About the same time 2 more Pathans

were rescued from a cloth shop at Lalwadi and one more Pathan was picked up at Government Gate Road and taken to hospital. On receiving the information of these attacks on the Pathans at Lalbaug I repaired to the spot and remained there till the excitement appeared to have died down.

On Monday the *4th February 1929* the mills started work as usual, but at about 7-15 a.m. a Hindu lad named Sitaram Gopal Mane, aged about 12 years, working in the Fazalbhoy mills is reported to have informed the weavers of the Fazalbhoy mill that he had narrowly escaped being kidnapped by Pathans. The workers in this mill came out at once and in a short time nearly all the mills stopped work. The workmen of the G. I. P. and B. B. and C. I. Railway workshops also came out. The reason alleged was that they must be at home to guard their women and children on account of the kidnapping scare. During this day the scare developed into a hunt for Pathans and wherever Pathans were found singly or in small numbers, they were brutally attacked.

At about 8-30 a.m. mill hands assaulted 3 Pathans opposite the B. B. & C. I. Railway workshop at DeLisle Road, entered their houses and brought out their clothes, etc., on the road and burnt them.

At about 8-30 a.m. a mob of about 500 Hindus assaulted a Pathan named Adalkhan Miagulkhan, a watchman in the employ of the New City of Bombay Mill. He was removed to the K. E.M. Hospital and detained for treatment for fracture of the skull. A case under sections 147, 149, 326 and 114, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at the Byculla Police Station but no arrests were made.

At about 8-30 a.m. a mob of Hindus attacked the residences on Albert Road of Pathan money-lenders named Isakhan Saifukhan and Abdul Rahman Khan Sadi Khan. The contents of their houses were looted and burnt. The stolen property in this case was valued at Rs. 573 and the property damaged amounted to Rs. 175. A case under section 147, 149, 395 and 434, Indian Penal Code, was registered but no arrests were made.

At about 9 a.m. one Ajam Khan Khushal Khan was set upon by a number of Hindus at Victoria Gardens Road opposite Venus Cinema. He received two slight injuries. He was treated in the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 9 a.m. a Pathan watchman, name not known, was found murdered at Chumpawadi, Parbhadevi Road, by means of a wooden charpoi and stones. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station. No arrests were made.

At about 9 a.m. a Pathan was found lying bleeding on DeLisle Road. He had been attacked by a large crowd with sticks and stones. He was removed to the King Edward Memorial Hospital where he succumbed to the injuries. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station. No one was arrested.

At about 9 a.m. a Pathan was assaulted by two unknown Hindus at Sayani Road with sticks. He received slight injuries for which he was treated at the King Edward Memorial Hospital and allowed to go. Enquiries failed to trace the assailants.

At about 9 a.m. a Pathan was assaulted by an unknown Hindu at the junction of DeLisle Road and the Globe Mill Lane with stones. He was treated for slight injury to his ear at the hospital and allowed to go.

At about 10 a.m. a Pathan named Mohammad Karim was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital from Devkar Building in the Bhoiwada section where he was stoned. He was treated for slight injuries and discharged.

About the same time a Pathan watchman in Findlay mill was stoned by the Hindu mill-hands. He was treated at the hospital for slight injuries and discharged.

At about 10-15 a.m. a room of a Pathan at Parbhadevi Road was broken into by a mob of mill-hands and all the occupants of the room were severely assaulted with stones and logs of wood. 3 Pathans received serious injuries and one of them died in hospital. The property of the Pathans which consisted of clothing, bedding, account books, etc., was burnt. The safe belonging to one of them, a money-lender, was broken open and an amount of Rs. 675-14 was removed therefrom. A case under sections 396, 198, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station and a sum of Rs. 558-14 was subsequently recovered. No one could be arrested for want of identification.

At 10-30 a.m. a Pathan named Abdul Kadir was rescued by the police from a grain shop of Bhoiwada Road where he ran when stoned by Hindus. The Police charged the crowd and dispersed them. The Pathan escaped serious injury.

At the same time 3 Pathans living in the Cement Chawls of David Mills, Elphinstone Road, were assaulted by a crowd. The Police went to their rescue and had them removed to hospital where they were treated for slight injuries.

At about 11-30 a.m. a Pathan named Arsal Khan Bahadur arrived by train at Currey Road Railway Station. He was mobbed by about 500 people who rushed into the station but was saved by the Railway staff. The mob started throwing stones and bricks and damaged the glass panes and injured one of the men of the Railway staff. A Pathan boy was given shelter in the Coaching Office and was saved. The police arrested 3 rioters and the Pathan boy was protected. A case under sections 147 and 149, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At about 12 noon a Pathan named Ismatulla Haji Narulla was stoned by Hindus at Sewri in the Bhoiwada section but he was picked up by a passing motor car and taken to the J. J. Hospital where his wounds were dressed and he was discharged. He was a resident of Nagpada.

At 1-15 p.m. a Pathan named Yakubali Mistry was stoned on Currey Road bridge. He was treated for slight injuries at the K. E. M. Hospital and discharged.

At 1-30 p.m. a motor driver named Shafi Khan Umeralikhan was assaulted by a mob of about 400 men at Sayani Road. His car was suspected by the mob to be one in which the children were kidnapped by Pathans. The police went to the scene and found the man unconscious. He was removed to the hospital and a case under sections 148 and 325, Indian Penal Code, was registered at DeLisle Road Police Station. No arrests were made.

At about 2 p.m. about 4 Pathans, who came from the direction of Sion were met by a large mob of millhands near Sion bridge. The Pathans took refuge in the house of a respectable Hindu at Sion but subsequently left this refuge on the mob undertaking not to molest them. 3 of these Pathans proceeded to Dharavi where they were found battered to death with sticks and stones. The fourth Pathan went towards the Sion Railway Station and he was murdered within Railway Police jurisdiction. In connection with the murder of the 3 Pathans a case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Mahim Police Station and about 40 arrests were made. 35 of them were subsequently bailed out and the remaining 5 remained in custody pending further enquiries. The case against the offenders for the murder of the fourth Pathan is under investigation by the Railway Police.

At 2-30 p.m. a Pathan named Nazir Sabat Khan was picked up unconscious and bleeding from wounds on the head within the G. I. P. Railway limit at Sion and taken to the K. E. M. Hospital.

At 2-30 p.m. the police guard at the corner of Kohinoor mills removed sticks and iron bars from the hands of the millhands of that mill who had struck work earlier in the day and who were going out with sticks, etc.

At about 4 p.m. a mob of rioters went to the Worli hill and assaulted the Pathans who were working there. A Pathan named Havildar Gulam Mohammad was killed on the spot and another was seriously injured. The police hastened to the spot and removed the dead man to the morgue. The Pathan who was seriously injured later on succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. A case under sections 147, 148, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station and 29 persons were arrested in connection with the case.

At about 4-20 p.m. about 75 millhands armed with sticks were proceeding towards Cutchrapatti presumably in search of Pathans. The armed police from Jacob's Circle went to the spot and dispersed them.

At about 8 p.m. a number of Hindus and Muhammadans were reported to have been engaged in a free fight at Bakreka Adda on DeLisle Road. When the Police went to the spot, nobody was found there but a number of sticks and stones were found lying on the road. Nobody was injured.

At about 9 p.m. a Pathan named Abubekar Bhaiji reported that some Hindus were throwing stones and damaging the room of a Pathan in Sarabhai Building, Lalwadi. The Police went to the place and dispersed the collected crowd. No Pathan was found present and no damage was done.

At 10 p.m. about 10 to 15 Hindus collected near the Venus Cinema with sticks in their hands. The Police went to the place and dispersed them.

At about 11-30 p.m. a mob of about 300 to 400 persons assaulted and murdered a Pathan who was going towards New Worli along Globe Mill lane. A case under sections 147, 149, 396 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at the DeLisle Road Police Station but no one could be arrested.

On the 4th February 1929 the *Hindustan and Praja Mitra* came out with a long story about the kidnapping of a Bohra boy named Nanabhoy who was alleged to have been rescued by his old father named Nazarali Hakimji. The paper also gave the photos of the son and the father. The same information was repeated in detail by the *Indian National Herald* and the *Bombay Samachar* on the following day. Enquiries were made into this alleged case of kidnapping and it was ascertained that the story was entirely false.

In view of the various attacks on the Pathans on account of the kidnapping scare, I got into communication with the Secretary, Home Department, about noon on the 4th February 1929 and suggested that in order to allay the panic which has seized the public, a notification ought to be issued that there was no truth in the rumours of kidnapping and the people could go about their ordinary business without any anxiety about their children. The Director of Information accordingly came to my office and drew up a draft notification. This after approval by Government was issued late in the evening and distributed broadcast. The notification was as follows :—

P-26.
4-2-29.

"The following notice has been issued and will be circulated in leaflet form through the city :—

> With reference to the rumours that children are being kidnapped in the Bombay city by Pathans, Government desires it to be known that there is no truth in these rumours. No complaints have been received by the Police of any children having been kidnapped by Pathans or any one else and people can resume their work without fear of their children being kidnapped.

Secretariat,
Bombay, 4th February 1929.

(Signed) H. F. KNIGHT,
Secretary to Government,
Home Department."

The rumours were as far as the Police were aware absolutely groundless and it was hoped that the broadcasting of this notice would restore confidence and that consequently there would be marked improvement in the situation the following day. Up to this point Pathans had been the chief object of attacks and violence throughout the day had been confined to the mill area. The whole strength of the Police including the armed Police had been mobilised to keep the disorderly elements in check and though so many outrages had been committed during the day I did not consider it necessary to call for the help of the military because the outrages had been a series of cowardly attacks on Pathans without any real justification and I felt that once Government made it clear that there was no foundation for the charges of kidnapping levelled against them, the senseless fury against them would abate and the Police would be able to maintain order unaided. In fact the next morning opened with a slight improvement. The Railway workshops resumed work and 12 mills which were not working the previous day also resumed work. But unfortunately as the day progressed outrages continued to occur.

At about 7-30 a.m. a Pathan, name not known, was murdered on Tulsi Pipe Road by persons unknown. A case under sections 147 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At 8-25 a.m. two Pathans named Shazaman Fazalkhan and Gulsaman Mohammad Khan were removed from the Parel workshops to the K. E. M. Hospital for slight abrasions which they received at the hands of the Hindu servants of the Railway employees.

At 9-15 a.m. a batch of about 50 to 60 Pathans came down Kalachowki Road and were proceeding to Lalwadi when they attracted the attention of a large number of mill-hands who commenced stoning them. The Pathans thereupon made for Arthur Road bridge where they were set upon by a larger number with the result that when the Police repaired to the spot 6 Pathans were found lying unconscious on the road. They were removed to the J. J. Hospital where one of them died the same day and 5 died subsequently. After their removal the Police received information of a riot between Hindus and Pathans at the other end of the bridge ; they rushed there and found mill-hands and Pathans stoning each other. The Police stopped the fight and escorted the Pathans back to Jacob's Circle.

At 9-30 a.m. 3 Pathans named Sultan Mohammad, Syed Tamasha Syed Faizu and Naizamuddin were found lying injured on Kalachowki Road. They subsequently died at the J. J. Hospital. A case under sections 147, 149, 302 and 114, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Byculla Police Station. Three persons were arrested and subsequently bailed out. In this case a taxi was damaged by the mob.

At about 10-30 a.m. about 20 Pathans were seen going armed with sticks along New Nagpada Road. They were disarmed under section 113 of Act IV of 1902 and dispersed.

At about 11 a.m. A. A. Alve and G. S. Kasle, labour leaders, took a Muhammadan contractor named Rahim to the tea shop at the corner of Suparibaug Road to come to some settlement with the Pathans when an unknown Pathan smacked Alve on the face. Within half an hour 3,000 to 4,000 mill-hands from Naigaum came down in a large body with sticks towards Poibavdi evidently to attack the Pathan camp in retaliation for the assault on Alve. A cordon of armed Policemen was drawn up across the road to prevent their approach. The main part of the mob went back but some of them came on to the Union office at Poibavdi. Whilst this was going on the Pathans in camp made a rush out to attack the Union office at Poibavdi, but seeing the police they got back to their camp. They stated that some of the Hindus from the Union office had attacked them with stones and soda water bottles and that they were driving them away. It was then noticed that quite a large number of mill-hands with sticks had occupied a passage leading to the Damodar Thakersey Hall and their Union office. The Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. Sharp, sent for the Magistrate from the Dadar Court and after his arrival the mob of mill-hands in the passage were disarmed under the order of the Magistrate. About 300 sticks were collected and removed to the Bhoiwada Police Station.

At about the same time a large crowd of Pathans armed with big sticks and banners was reported to be coming from the direction of the J. J. Hospital towards Bhendi Bazar. The Police intervened and on making enquiries it was learnt that the Pathans were going to see me at the Head Police Office for protection. This party of Pathans proceeded *via* New Sydenham Road, Nagdevi Street, Janjikar Street, Hussain Khalifa Street and Carnac Road to the Head Police Office. On their way one Soma Laxman, aged about 25, a watchman of the Bombay Municipal Drainage Department, was murderously assaulted by them at the junction of Serang Street and Carnac Road. This watchman died subsequently. The crowd also assaulted one Kala Revla, a Hindu aged about 22 years, who was working as a cooly in Hussain Khalifa Street. He was removed to the hospital. On their way to Head Police Office the Pathans stabbed 2 Gujerati merchants who were carrying silver bars to their shops in a Victoria. The Victoria driver was also assaulted by the Pathans and one of the silver bars valued at Rs. 2,000 was found missing. This incident happened in front of the Crawford Market. Captain Flanders, the Market Superintendent, who happened to see it from his office, at once ran down and while the injured were removed to the hospital by the Police he took charge of the remaining 9 silver bars valued at Rs. 18,000 and kept them in safe custody until they were taken charge of by the Police.

On my arrival in the Head Police Office about midday I found a very large and excited crowd of Pathans numbering about 500 waiting for me. They said they were not getting enough protection and wanted to know what was going to be done for their safety. After some parleying with them, I asked some of their leaders to come to my office when we would discuss arrangements for their better protection. The leaders were on their way upstairs to my office when we observed the greater part of

the crowd down below suddenly moving out of the compound on to Carnac Road and towards Shaikh Memon Street. We rushed downstairs and overtook them but they were in a very excited mood and refused to return. They all had sticks in their hands and a skirmish took place between them and the Police and eventually they all took shelter in the Jumma Musjid. As on my arrival in office it had been reported to me that the Pathans had committed some excesses on Carnac Road and in the Bhendi Bazar direction and that they injured some Hindus as described above and as it appeared to me from the behaviour of the Pathans in my compound that they were likely to get out of control, and that there was grave likelihood of communal riots, I at once rang up to the Secretary, Home Department, and requested that the military should be called out to assist the Police. Shortly afterwards the Secretary informed me that he had done so and at 2-30 p.m.. 100 of the Warwickshire Regiment reported at my office. They were immediately posted as follows :—

One Platoon at Head Police Office.
One Platoon at Jacob's Circle.
Two Platoons split up at—
(*a*) Poibavdi,
(*b*) K. E. M. Hospital,
(*c*) Lalwadi and
(*d*) DeLisle Road and Currey Road.

From the narration of events up to this point it will be seen that the kidnapping scare had culminated on the evening of Sunday the 3rd in Pathans being specially singled out for attack and on the whole of Monday the 4th and the morning of Tuesday the 5th they were the only victims and they were savagely attacked wherever they were found singly or in small numbers. On the 4th, 10 Pathans were either murdered or so severely injured that they died subsequently of their injuries ; on the morning of the 5th, 10 Pathans were either murdered or so severely injured that they died subsequently of their injuries. It is of importance to note that all these attacks ocurred in the mill area or in areas inhabited by mill-hands and that the great majority of Pathans live not in the mill area but in the South of the city. The question naturally arises therefore why if the Pathans were suspected of kidnapping the majority in the South were left unmolested while the minority in the North were subjected to attack. The opinion of the police with which I agree is that the explanation is to be found in the history of the Pathans for the past few months and their relations with the Oil Installation strikers at Sewri. The Burmah Shell Company's workers went on strike on 7th December 1928. The workers in the Standard Oil Company and the Indo Petroleum Company followed them The strikers were being led by the same Communists who had taken such a prominent part in the general mill strike. The Oil Companies never stopped work in spite of the strike. The three companies carried

on with fresh hands. The Burmah Shell employed a large number of Pathans. The strike leaders were very annoyed that the Pathans were enabling the company to carry on. During the month of January several entirely unprovoked attacks were made on these Pathan workers on their way home from work. On the 9th January 1929 three Pathan workmen were attacked by thirty or forty men armed with sticks while walking along the Sewri Cross Road. On the 11th January 150 Pathan workmen returning from their work were stoned by the Oil Installation strikers near Sewri level crossing. On the 12th a Pathan money-lender was attacked at Sewri with sticks and stones. On the 16th the Pathan workmen were again stoned on their way home from work. On the 19th January 1929, the following appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

"TROUBLE AT SEWRI

Strikers attack Pathan Watchmen

TWO KILLED AND TWO SERIOUSLY INJURED

The quiet locality of Sewri is once again converted into a battle-field by the strikers where men take their lives in their hands for the past few days. Not a day passes without an assault on somebody or other or incident of that kind. Since the strike of the men working in the three oil companies in that locality the situation has become worse and the strikers have become desperate. On Thursday evening a great crisis was averted by the timely arrival of the Police but the strikers are out for revenge on the Pathans who are employed by the oil companies to guard their men and property."

On the 18th January the workers in the New China mill rushed out of the mill and murdered 3 Pathan watchmen on the mill and injured a fourth.

It will be seen therefore that long before the rumours began about the kidnapping of children by Pathans, Pathans were already being subjected to very severe molestation merely because of their taking the places of strikers in the oil companies. Whether the rumours of kidnapping were started maliciously by the strike leaders with the object of further incitement against the Pathans is a question to which I cannot give a definite reply ; the police have failed to trace the origin of the rumours and it is unlikely that the origin will ever be traced. But I think it is not an unreasonable inference that it was so. In this connection I may mention that R. S. Nimbkar, one of the Communist leaders, in addressing a meeting at Sewri denounced the employment of Pathans to break the oil strike and said that whoever came in the way of the strikers earning their living should be stopped from doing so.

There was no retaliation by Pathans to the outrages committed against them on Sunday the 3rd February and on Monday the 4th February. If the attacks on the Pathans had been the outcome of a genuine belief in the kidnapping rumours, the proclamation by Government on the

evening of February 4th, ought to have put a stop to them. But the attacks continued with the same venom on Tuesday the 5th and there appears therefore to have been a much stronger motive behind these attacks, than a belief in the rumours and it was presumably the desire for revenge on the Pathans whom they accused of acting as strike breakers. It was the continuation of these attacks that drove the Pathans to retaliation, and this retaliation which began about midday on Tuesday the 5th marked the beginning of the communal riots. There is no evidence in the possession of the police to show that anybody definitely fostered communal disorder. During the riots allegations were freely made that there were instigators on each side, but the police obtained no evidence to substantiate these allegations. Anonymous leaflets in Marathi were found in circulation, translation of which is as follows :—

"LETTER OF APPEAL

> Oh ! Hindu brethren, awake, do not sleep if you have any regard for your mothers and sisters, come out of your houses armed with sticks ; because our benign Government do not take notice although the wives and children of our brothers are massacred and dishonoured ; they have moreover issued orders to-day to shoot down if more than five persons were collected together. We must therefore prepare ourselves for our own protection, because our benign Government take away our sticks and do not seize their (Muhammadans) sticks and knives. What is the meaning of this ? The meaning of this is that we should show our Maratha courage to these Landas (circumcised Mussalmans)."

On Wednesday the 6th, as there was no improvement in the situation, 100 more troops were called out and posted as follows :—

One Platoon at Bhendi Bazaar.

One Platoon at Nagpada.

One Platoon at Two Tanks.

One Platoon at J. J. Hospital.

As it was clear on this day that the disorder had become communal His Excellency the Governor summoned a conference at Government House, which was attended by the Home Member, the Officer acting in Command of the Station, the Secretary to Government, Home Department, and myself. It was then decided to summon a British regiment from Poona and to recall the remainder of the Warwickshire Regiment from Deolali. It was also decided to requisition armed District Police from the Inspector General of Police so as to relieve the city armed Police from guard and escort duty and leave them free for use in the streets. The Cheshire Regiment arrived from Poona on the morning of Thursday the 7th ; the two Companies of the Warwickshire regiment arrived from Deolali and 150 District Police arrived from different Districts the same morning. In consultation with the military authorities

19 military posts were decided on which were eventually increased to 24 at the following places :—

1. Head Police Office.
2. Argyle Road.
3. Golpitha.
4. Kalachowki.
5. Jackeria Bunder.
6. Bhavani Shankar Road.
7. J. J. Hospital.
8. Bhuleshwar Road.
9. Tardeo.
10. Jacob's Circle.
11. Sewri.
12. Lalwadi.
13. Fergusson Road.
14. Pydhoni.
15. Bhendi Bazaar.
16. Two Tanks.
17. Nagpada.
18. Poibavdi.
19. DeLisle Road and Curry Road.
20. Ghorupdeo.
21. Umerkhadi (Sandhurst Road and Dongri Street).
22. Wadi Bunder Police Lines.
23. Abdul Rehman Street.
24. Princess Street.

The District police relieved the city police of their guard and escort duties and the city police were posted at various important places. Also one section of armoured cars was called out. At each of the military posts a platoon was stationed and the arrangement was that half the platoon patrolled while the other half remained at the post.

In spite of the large numbers of military and police in the city, disorder showed no sign of diminution on the 7th and 8th, and I accordingly held a conference with the Home Member, the Officer acting in Command of the Station and the Chief Presidency Magistrate on the morning of the 9th to decide what further steps could be taken. It was decided to issue a Curfew order and an order forbidding the assembly of more than 5 persons and to comb out certain localities where rioters were known or suspected to be. The Curfew order and the order forbidding the assembly of more than 5 persons were issued on the evening of the 9th. These orders had a most salutary effect. The Curfew order was construed generally to mean that anybody found in the streets after the notified hours was liable to be shot and as a result the streets were deserted between the notified hours. The combing out began on the 10th and this also had a most salutary effect.

On the 9th the following units of the A.F. (I) were embodied :—

Bombay Light Horse 70
5th (Bombay) Field Brigade, R.A.
No. 3 (Bombay) Company, R.A.S.C. } 60 rifles.
No. 3 (Bombay) Field Co., R.E.
Bombay Battalion 16 platoons.
Light motor group of 4 sections.

Sufficient all ranks of the G. I. P. and B. B. & C. I. Railway regiments to guard their own Armouries.

Also the 3/9 Jat Regiment arrived from Santa Cruz.

On the 10th, 100 more District armed Police arrived and further relieved the City Police.

Conditions improved from this date. The Curfew order was put forward from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. on 14th February and from 10 p.m. to midnight on the 18th and both the orders were withdrawn on the 21st. The A.F.I. were dis-embodied on Sunday the 17th and the military pickets were gradually withdrawn from 17th till the last of them was withdrawn on Wednesday the 20th. The District Police were retained till the 27th when they were returned to their Districts.

Narrative of events

At about midday on the 5th February when the Pathans came to see me at the Head Police Office it was reported that there were about 200 Pathans with lathis proceeding to the Bombay Improvement Trust quarry in the Dongri maidan and attacking Hindus working near the quarry. The Police chased the Pathans who went along Jail Road east, Babula Tank Road and towards Mastan Talao. In this attack on the Hindus by the Pathans four Hindus named (1) Ramchandra Sonoo, (2) Jivraj Kalyanji, (3) Govind Narayan and (4) Sakharam Babaji were injured. Out of them, Ramchandra Sonoo died in the J. J. Hospital on the 9th February 1929.

At about 11-30 a.m. about 300 to 400 Pathans were found going along Victoria Gardens Road towards Byculla bridge armed with large sticks. They were dispersed and sent back to their homes at Grant Road and Dongri.

At about 11-30 a.m. one Dugroo Kairoo and one Sahoobai Pandoo were assaulted on Victoria Gardens Road with a stick by an unknown Pathan near the J. J. Hospital corner. They were treated in the hospital and discharged. The assailant could not be traced.

At about 12-30 p.m. a Hindu named Kalkasingh Balaramsingh, aged about 55 years, was found injured on Babula Tank Road opposite Noor Baug. He was reported to have been assaulted by some Pathans unknown. He died on admission to the J. J. Hospital.

At about 1-30 p.m. one Babu Deoda was seen collapsing at the entrance gate of the J. J. Hospital. He was immediately taken into the hospital but died soon after admission. This incident is reported to have taken place at Babula Tank Road where some Pathans are said to have assaulted him. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the Byculla Police Station.

At about 4-15 p.m. a number of mill-hands had collected on the road to the south of the K. E. M. Hospital and they were soon advancing on the Pathan camp. Some stones were thrown by these mill-hands at the Pathans in camp and the Pathans retaliated. Deputy Inspector Priestly who was posted with an armed guard in the vicinity getting word of this went up unaccompanied by his armed guard and tried to separate the combatants. The mill-hands, however, paid no heed to his efforts and one of them struck him in the face with a stone and he was assaulted so severely that he fell unconscious on the ground. The armed guard rushing up to his assistance drove the mill-hands off and picking up

Mr. Priestly conveyed him to the K. E. M. Hospital where he died shortly after admission.

At about 5-30 p.m. a crowd of about 30 Pathans with lathis was noticed at the junction of Mazagaon Road and New Chinchbunder Road. They complained to the Police that when they were returning from work, some Hindus threw stones at them and a man named Usman Sharif was hit with a stone. When the Police were escorting the Pathans to their residence at Tandel Street, they noticed at the junction of Sandhurst Road and Jail Road east a party of 400 to 500 Pathans armed with lathis. This party while going along Sandhurst Road damaged the contents of grain shops belonging to Bhanji Velji, Thakersey Shivji and Kanji Mona. The Police tried to disperse them but in so doing six Police Constables were injured—P.N. No. 2048/B having received serious injuries. At this very time a small fire was noticed in the sweet-meat shop of one Mulji Madhavji in the Dongri section. The Fire Brigade quickly arrived on the scene and the fire was extinguished before any damage could be done. Subsequent enquiries showed that the fire was accidental. The mob of Pathans then dwindled down and dispersed in different directions. The rioters then formed themselves into batches and started assaulting Hindus on the road.

At 5-30 p.m. 3 Pathans were stoned by a mob of Hindus on Mazagaon Road near Hancock bridge. One of them boarded a tram car which was stoned by the mob. As the Pathans made their escape no further information of the incident could be had.

At about 7-30 p.m. information was received that a disturbance had taken place at Kamatipura. Enquiries showed that 3 Pathans were chased by a Hindu crowd of about 200 but the crowd dispersed before the Police repaired to the place.

At about 8-40 p.m. tram car No. 395-396 proceeding from Noor Baug towards Hancock bridge was stoned. The attack on the tram car was made because 3 Pathans were in it. Some soda water bottles were also thrown at the tram car and the conductor, the tramway inspector and a Hindu were slightly injured.

At about 9 p.m. information was received that a Hindu was stabbed by Muhammadans at Morland Road and was sheltering behind a Muhammadan tea shop there. When the Police repaired to the spot the Hindu was found dead. He had stab wounds on the abdomen and chest.

At about 9-30 p.m. a crowd of about 200 Muhammadans had collected at the Hindu cremation ground at Dharavi. From enquiries it appeared that they had collected there in connection with the burial of 4 Pathans who had been murdered the previous day. The crowd dispersed quietly after the burial ceremony was over.

At about 10 p.m. a crowd of about 200 Pathans armed with sticks were going along Grant Road but before they could do any mischief they were dispersed by the Police.

At 4 a.m. information was received that some time at midnight on the 5th February a Hindu temple at Jail Road east and two Hindu temples at 1st Chinchbunder Road were broken open, images desecrated and property looted by some Muhammadan rioters. A Police guard was stationed at Bhendi Bazaar and the whole of the Dongri section was patrolled by Police parties the whole night.

6th February 1929

At about 7-30 a.m. a Hindu named Govind Shiva was struck by a Pathan with a stone at Parel. He was treated at the K. E. M. Hospital and discharged.

At about 10-30 a.m. one Juthabhai Ratansey, Hindu aged 40 years, was assaulted by some Pathans on Musjid Bunder Road with sticks. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At about 11 a.m. a Hindu named Balaram Pandu was assaulted by some Pathans when he was passing a lane near the Pathan camp at Poibavdi. The Police had him treated at the K. E. M. Hospital for slight injuries.

At about 11 a.m. one Rama Laxman, the driver of labour cart No. 3553, was assaulted with a stick by a Muhammadan on Parel Road near Piru Havaldar lane. The driver who had received a slight injury ran away leaving his cart on the road. Rioters set fire to the kerosene oil tins, cotton waste, etc., which were loaded in the cart. A military picket with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Port, arrived and extinguished the fire. As the crowd of rioters began to swell and would not disperse the armed Police had to open fire on Parel Road near Piru Havaldar lane to disperse the mob. There were no casualties.

From about 11 a.m. onwards stray assaults by Muhammadans on Hindus from different localities in the Nagpada section continued and about 10 Hindus and one Muhammadan received injuries. Three of them were reported to have been assaulted by some Pathans while they were driving in a motor lorry along New Nagpada Road. Two of these assailants, namely, Abdul Malik Jaimatshah and Shershah Rasulshah were arrested on the spot by the Police when they were committing the assault. The case against them is pending in the Mazagaon Police Court.

At about 11-30 a.m. a Hindu cart driver who was delivering goods in Pakmodia Street was severely assaulted. As the assaults in this street continued till the evening a Police guard stationed at the J. J. Hospital corner was called in for help and the Police rounded up the rowdy elements in the locality. Sixteen persons were arrested of whom 12 were Pathans. They were charged with rioting.

At about 2 p.m. one Kasturchand Magnarain, Hindu aged 35, was assaulted with sticks on the head and legs by some Pathans. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 2 p.m. a mixed crowd of Pathans and other Muhammadans desecrated a Hindu temple at Mastan Talao but the crowd dispersed before the arrival of the Police.

At about 3 p.m. one Ghansham Hiralal, Hindu aged about 16, was found in Dongri section bleeding from his arm. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital where he expired on the 9th March 1929 of tetanus and broncho-pneumonia.

At about 3 p.m. one Vasant Appaji, Hindu aged 25, was going along Pydhoni Road when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans on the left hand and right leg with sticks. He was treated at the G. T. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 4 p.m. the military had to open fire on rioters at the junction of Sandhurst Road and Jackeria Musjid Road. Five Muhammadans named Ibrahim Ahmed, Abdulla ,, Adam, Ibrahim Mohammad, Mohammad Yassin Noor Mohammad and Khodabaksh Makdoom who were injured were removed to the J. J. Hospital. One of them Ibrahim Mohammad died in the hospital on 16th February 1929.

At about 5 p.m. 3 Pathans were found lying in the compound behind Shri Cutchi Lohana Chawl on Mazagaon Road. Two of them were dead and the third died after admission to the J. J. Hospital. The Police also rescued 6 other Pathans who were hiding in Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy's bungalow on Mazagaon Road. The names of the three murdered Pathans could not be ascertained. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Byculla Police Station and 8 persons were arrested.

At about 8 p.m. there was a scare at Thakurdwar Road. A Hindu boy selling race results was assaulted by a Muhammadan who inflicted a stab wound. An alarm was raised and all the shops in the locality closed instantly. After the arrival of the Police order was restored.

At 10-30 p.m. at the junction of Sandhurst Road and Mutton Street a group of Hindus was attacked by a mob of Muhammadans and one of them was mercilessly beaten. On arrival of the Police guard from the Nullbazaar Chowki the mob dispersed stoning the Police as they did so.

At about 11 p.m. a mob of about 100 Pathans in an excited state proceeded to the Wadi Bunder Police lines but they were turned back by the Police Constables residing in the lines. P. C. No. 798/I and 552/I were slightly injured. When the Pathans were near the lines a shot was heard and subsequently one Miakhan Lajmir, a Pathan aged 30, was found with injuries on his right hand. He was removed to the hospital. He stated that he was struck with a bullet. There was no military picket at this place. The Superintendent, " I " Division, immediately made enquiries in the Wadi Bunder lines and ascertained that no one from the Police lines fired at this time. The Resident Medical Officer, J. J. Hospital, certified that the injury was due to some explosive and not from an ordinary service revolver.

During this day in the Dongri section 8 Hindus were fatally injured out of whom 2 died on Sandhurst Road, 2 died in G. T. Hospital and 4 died in the J. J. Hospital between 6th February 1929 and 9th March 1929.

At about 11 p.m. one Gandalal Parbhu, aged 25, was assaulted by Muhammadans on Musjid Bunder Road. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 11 p.m. one Malshi Champsey, aged 35, was assaulted by a Muhammadan on Jackaria Street. He was detained for treatment at the G. T. Hospital.

At about 1-30 a.m. on the night of 6th February a fight took place between Muhammadans and Hindus on Chinchpokli Road as a result of which an unknown Muhammadan was injured. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital and discharged.

7th February 1929

Murderous attacks by Muhammadans on Hindus and by Hindus on Muhammadans continued throughout the day in different parts of the city but the mill area was comparatively calm, nearly all the outrages occurring in the area south of Byculla. The military opened fire twice at Two Tanks and at Dongri Street. Five were killed and one was wounded. The Police also opened fire at Dongri maidan and fired 11 rounds killing one Pathan. The various incidents are detailed as under:—

Early in the morning about 5 Hindus were going along Bellasis Road with milk pots when they were assaulted by about 8 Muhammadans. The Hindus ran away leaving their milk pots and the milk was thrown out by the Muhammadans.

At about 6-45 a.m. a Hindu named Dhondiba Haribhau who was going along Mastan Tank Road was stabbed by some Pathans with a knife and another Hindu a sweeper named Dhana Gala was assaulted with sticks. Both of them were removed to hospital by the Police.

At about 7 a.m. one Abdul Halil Sultan Khalil of Dhaku Parbhu's Wadi was assaulted with stones by a mob of about 200 Hindus. He was treated in the J. J. Hospital for slight injuries and allowed to go.

At 7-30 a.m. one Gunaji Hari was assaulted on Reay Road near Ghorupdeo Hindu temple by 3 unknown Muhammadans. He was treated at the G. T. Hospital for slight injuries and discharged.

At about 7-30 a.m. a Hindu Ghati, aged 35, was found lying unconscious bleeding from the head on Sydenham Road. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital where he died the same day. A case of murder was registered at the Pydhowni Police Station.

At 7-45 a.m. a Hindu named Tukaram Sadhu was assaulted by half a dozen Muhammadans on Reay Road with sticks. He received a simple tracture of the left elbow and several minor injuries. A case under sections 147, 149 and 326, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at Byculla Police Station. No arrests were made.

At 8 a.m. a Hindu named Arjun Atmaram was assaulted by about 10 unknown Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated for slight injuries at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At 8 a.m. about 200 Muhammadans and about the same number of Hindus indulged in throwing stones at one another on Connaught Road. The Police dispersed the mobs. Two unknown Muhammadans and one Hindu were slightly injured.

At 8-45 a.m. an unknown Hindu was assaulted on Reay Road by some unknown Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital and discharged.

At 9 a.m. information was received that a Hindu was lying dead with a stab wound in a house at Kumbharwada. It appeared that a mob of Muhammadans was passing up the street at 3 a.m. and one of them stabbed the man who was sleeping on the "otla" of the house and cleared away.

At 11 a.m. the dead body of a Hindu, name not known, was found in the gutter at Bellasis Road bleeding from the ears. This was subsequently identified to be the body of one Ganu Soma Rewale.

At about 11-30 a.m. information was received of serious rioting in Kamatipura. The Police and the military repaired to the spot and found the Hindus and Pathans fighting on Bazaar Road. The Pathans who had apparently come down to assault the Hindus in the locality attempted to run away but 20 of them were arrested and prosecuted. Eleven of them were convicted of rioting and the rest discharged.

At 11-15 a.m. one Manjaya Malaya, aged 20, was chased by some Muhammadans on Sydenham Road. He fell down while running away. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was treated for slight injuries on the right wrist and right ankle.

At about 11-30 a.m. one Devsi Hansraj, aged 35, was assaulted by some Pathans on Sydenham Road. He was sent to the J. J. Hospital for treatment in the Parsi Ambulance.

At about 11-30 a.m. two Hindus named Pachasi Hansraj, aged 30 and Lalji Velji, aged 25, were assaulted by Pathans on Sydenham Road. They were treated at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At 1 p.m. trouble started in the Kumbharwada area bounded by Grant Road, Duncan Road, Sandhurst Road and Trimbak Parsharam Street occupied mainly by Hindus. The trouble first started in Durgadevi Street where it appeared some Muhammadans from the Kamatipura area crossed Grant Road, advanced over Northbrook Gardens and entered 1st and 2nd Pathan Streets assaulting all Hindus within their reach. The Hindus in turn mobilised their forces and several pitched battles occurred, both sides receiving injuries. Whenever the military and the Police guard came up from Two Tanks the mobs dispersed. A little before 2 p.m. the guard had been called out to suppress a disturbance caused by Muhammadans who came from the Null bazaar area having crossed Duncan Road. The mob was chased into 2nd Duncan Cross Lane where they made a stand and commenced stoning the Police and

the military. Frequent warnings were given to the mob to disperse and as the order was not obeyed instructions were given by the Magistrate to disperse it by force. Six rounds were fired and as a result three Muhammadans were removed to Hospital where they died as a result of gun-shot wounds. The mob instantly dispersed after the firing. No sooner had the guard returned to Two Tanks than information was received of a fresh outbreak at 2nd Pathan Street and the guard quickly repaired to the scene and on arrival the Muhammadans scattered across Northbrook Gardens and ran to the timber stacks whilst the Hindus retired to the southern part of 2nd Pathan Street and refused to disperse. When the guard advanced up the street it was stoned by the Hindu mob. As the mob refused to disperse the Magistrate ordered the military to use force. In all 5 rounds were fired and one Hindu was picked up dead whilst another was handed over to the Police the following morning having died in a house during the night from a gunshot wound. The mob dispersed after the firing and as the guard was returning up 2nd Pathan Street they were met by the Muhammadan mob who made an advance again. They were called upon to disperse, but replied to the order by a shower of stones. Under instructions from the Magistrate five rounds were fired which resulted in one Hindu being wounded. The firing had the effect of stopping the rioting. Isolated attacks, however, continued as for instance two Hindus were found dead of stab wounds at Kumbharwada said to have been caused by Muhammadans. Numerous persons were removed to the hospital by the police and many had to be escorted to their homes.

At about 1 p.m. one Mirza Habibullah Khan, a victoria driver, was stabbed by some unknown person from a mob of about 150 Hindus on Dockyard Road. He received 3 stab wounds. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was treated and discharged.

At about 2-30 p.m. one Ramaswami Venkataswami, aged 32, was going along Khadak Street when he was assaulted by some Patnans. He was detained at the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 3 p.m. one Shivmurath Ramkumar, aged 25, was driving his labour cart loaded with coal along Pydhoni Road when he was stabbed by some Muhammadans. He was detained for treatment at the J. J. Hospital.

At 4-30 p.m. the armed police under Sub-Inspector Hakim fired 11 rounds in the Dongri maidan where some Pathans were assaulting Hindus and throwing stones at the Police picket. As the situation became serious by 4-40 p.m. the military picket at Mochi Galli fired 2 rounds in the Dongri maidan under the order of the Magistrate. One Johoradin Sherdin, Pathan aged 30, died from a bullet wound received in the Dongri maidan. P. Cs. Nos. 1010-B and 2233-B were slightly injured on account of stone throwing by the Pathans.

At about 5 p.m. tram cars Nos. 37 and 67 were halted at Sandhurst Road and Dongri Street junction when some Pathans threw stones. The tram conductor No. 1031, Amerjitsingh Ahibaransingh was slightly injured and some glass panes of the tram car were damaged.

At about 5 p.m. 3 Pathans were going towards Zaoba's Wadi on Girgaum Road to see a relation of theirs who was a watchman. Some Hindus chased them, but the Police arriving on the scene dispersed the crowd.

At about 5-15 p.m. tram cars Nos. 271 and 272 going along Sandhurst Road towards Bhendi Bazaar were stoned by the Pathans. Conductor No. 974 was slightly injured and some glass panes of the cars were broken.

At about 6-40 p.m. the Policemen posted on Thakurdwar Road found a Pathan, name and address not known, lying on the road near Fanaswadi in an unconscious state and removed him to the G. T. Hospital where he died of injuries to the skull the same night. He was assaulted while passing along the road by some Hindus. A case under sections 147 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at Princess Street Police Station.

At about 7 p.m. one Ramcharan Bhagwan, a beggar aged 20 years, was stabbed with a penknife on the chest by some Pathans on Sydenham Road. He died at the J. J. Hospital. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhowni Police Station.

At about 7-30 p.m. about 200 Pathans who were returning to the Dongri Bazaar from the Docks *viá* Clive Road rushed into Argyle Road Dana Bunder, and killed on the spot (1) Lalji Dossa, (2) Chaturbhuji Lalji and a Hindu Ghati, name not known, aged 35. The Police and the military repaired to the spot and restored order. A military picket was posted there under an Honorary Magistrate. An inquest was held on the dead bodies and a case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhowni Police Station.

At 7-30 p.m. a telephone message was received from the Manager of the Hindu cremation ground at Sonapur that some Pathans had collected there and were threatening to assault a Hindu funeral party. The mob dispersed on arrival of the Police and military.

At 9 p.m. one Ramchandra Pandurang, Laxman Rama and Bhima Rama Gawde were stabbed by an unknown Pathan in Hindu dress at Love Lane. Laxman Rama died on the spot and the others were removed to the J. J. Hospital for treatment. A case under sections 302, 324 and 326, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Byculla Police Station, but no arrest could be made.

At about 9-15 p.m. the dead body of a Hindu, male aged 22, was found lying at Dontad Street. He was assaulted by some unknown Mawalis. The body was disposed of by the Police after an inquest and a case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhowni Police Station.

At about 9-15 p.m. a Pathan named Majid Din Mohammad, aged 25, was removed to the J. J. Hospital for treatment of an injury below the left knee sustained by him at Dana Bunder.

At 9-30 p.m. a Hindu Ghati, aged 50, was found lying at Wadgadi having a compound fracture of the skull. He died at the G. T. Hospital the same night. The body was disposed of by the Police after an inquest

and a case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhowni Police Station.

At about 2-30 a.m. on the night of the 7th February information was received that a crowd of Muhammadans and Hindus armed with sticks had collected near the Byculla Railway Station. A military patrol with a few Policemen and a Magistrate proceeded to the spot and restored order. One Muhammadan was injured. At this particular place on DeLisle Road there are a mosque and a temple separated by an open maidan. On enquiries it was found that the Muhammadans feared an attack from the Hindus on their mosque. The Hindus alleged that the Muhammadans had contemplated an attack on the temple. The Police and the military however maintained order.

8th February 1929

On this day the mill area remained comparatively calm, most of the mills starting work. But rioting and disorder continued with renewed violence in the southern part of the city south of Byculla, Kalbadevi Road, Fanaswadi, Abdul Rehman Street, Nagdevi Street and Kolsa Mohalla being the most disorderly centres. The military opened fire three times, at Abdul Rehman Street (3 rounds), J. J. Hospital (one round), Nagdevi Street (15 rounds). The casualties were one killed and 11 wounded.

Attempts at reconciliation were made by the Central Executive Committee popularly known as the Peace Committee, and although it appeared at one time to be meeting with great success, news unfortunately reached the fraternising groups of disorder elsewhere in the evening and destroyed all hopes of immediate success.

Early in the morning on the 8th February one Gulab Kalidas, aged 30, was stabbed by Pathans in the back at Sydenham Road. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At 8 a.m. one Sitaram Dhondi, aged 40, was assaulted with sticks by some Pathans on Sydenham Road. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At 8 a.m. the dead body of a Muhammadan male was found at the entrance of the Textile mills, Parbhadevi Road. A case under sections 147, 148, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered by the DeLisle Road Police Station and one arrest was made.

At 9 a.m. one Amritlal Motiram, aged 17, was assaulted by Pathans on Musjid Bunder Road. He was removed to hospital for treatment.

At about 9-30 a.m. one Purshottam Amratlal, aged 18, was assaulted by Pathans on Pydhowni Road with sticks. He was detained in the hospital for treatment.

At about 11 a.m. a Hindu cart driver, name and address not known, aged 28, was murderously assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks on Dontad Street. He died at the G. T. Hospital soon after admission on account of fracture of base of the skull. His body was disposed of

after the inquest and a case under the Indian Penal Code was registered by the Pydhowni Police Station.

About this time there were stray assaults on 5 Hindus and a Muhammadan at Sankli Street and Haines Road.

At 11 a.m. rioting between Hindus and Muhammadans at Kamatipura and Suklaji Street was reported to have taken place, but on arrival of the Police and military the rioters dispersed.

At 12-15 p.m. the Police and the military dispersed a mob of rioters at Kamatipura Bazaar Road in the Nagpada section.

At about 1 p.m. a Pathan named Abdul Rahman Khan Ahmed Khan was removed by the Police from the Arthur Road stables to Arthur Road Hospital on receipt of information that he was stabbed by some Hindu residents of DeLisle Road and Arthur Road.

At 1-30 p.m. two Muhammadans named Sharfuddin Hasmuddin and Abdulla Madar were assaulted by a mob of Hindus at Thakurdwar Road. They were removed to the G. T. Hospital where Sharfuddin Hasmuddin died the same day owing to fracture of the skull. The other received a slight injury for which he was treated and allowed to go. A case under sections 147 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by Princess Street Police Station, and six persons were arrested.

At 2 p.m. a fight between the Hindus and Muhammadans took place at Kamatipura. The Police and the military repaired to the spot and as the crowd persisted in fighting the police had to open fire under the orders of the Magistrate when the crowds dispersed. One Rajanna Linganna was injured in the firing.

At 2-30 p.m. one Vali Mohammad Umar Adam was assaulted by a mob of Hindus on DeLisle Road. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At 2-55 p.m. information was received that a crowd of Pardeshi Bhaiyyas had collected on Kalbadevi Road and a Muhammadan named Haji Mohammad Zakhi was assaulted. The Police went up to the spot and dispersed the crowd.

At 3-30 p.m. rioting between Hindus and Muhammadans took place at Bapti Road. The Police who went to disperse the rioters were stoned with the result that they had to open fire under the orders of the Magistrate. One Inayat Hashmat was injured in the leg by a revolver shot.

At 6 p.m. rioting took place between Hindus and Muhammadans at Kamatipura but the Police and the military dispersed the rioters by the use of firearms.

At 6 p.m. one Bashir Abdul Rahman was assaulted by Hindus with sticks on Arthur Road. He received a contused wound on the head for which he was treated at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 6 p.m. information was received at the Two Tanks that efforts towards peace were being made in the Kamatipura locality. The Police encouraged the Hindus of Kumbharwada to mingle with the Muhammadans of Kamatipura with the result that very quickly processions were

formed of both communities consisting of about 10,000 people. Fraternisation appeared to be complete but in a short time wild disorder again broke out on rumours and reports of outrages elsewhere.

Just at about this time rumours spread at Kalbadevi Road that many Hindu families were murdered and Hindu temples were desecrated in the Muhammadan localities. As a result infuriated Hindus, particularly Bhaiyyas and Ghatis came out with lathis and began to stone victorias, taxis and tram cars whenever they saw Muhammadans in them. The whole area round Girgaum Road, Thakurdwar, Dadisheth Agiari lane, Kalbadevi Road, Shaikh Memon Street and Abdul Rehman Street was in disorder. The Police tried to pacify the crowds with the aid of some prominent men of the locality but with no success. Soon after a large number of Muhammadans armed with sticks came from Pydhoni side to Kalbadevi Road and with difficulty they were persuaded to return but they again got wildly excited when they saw photographers of a film Co. taking photos. The film Company men were in danger of being attacked but the Police took possession of the film camera and stopped the disturbance. As the situation grew worse military help was called in. 3 persons were arrested and taken to the Police Station with some difficulty.

At about 7-30 p.m. one Durgasingh Rabisingh was assaulted by Pathans at the junction of DeLisle Road and Arthur Road. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital for 2 contused wounds.

Between 7 and 8 p.m. there was also disorder in Jambli Mohalla, Ghoghari Mohalla, Falkland Road, Islampura and Sandhurst Road. Several brutal assaults on Hindus were made and a Musjid at Ghoghari Mohalla was stoned in retaliation. Tram cars were held up and Pydhoni Road and Bapu Khote Street were entirely blocked. These disorders which followed the attempts at reconciliation an hour before were responsible for 21 casualties in the " C " Division area.

At about 8 p.m. the Muhammadans in Temkar, Huzuria and Telli Mohallas and Ripon Road commenced assaults on Hindus passing by. Although the Police and military pickets patrolled these localities, murderous assaults took place and 5 Hindus were found dead on Ripon Road with stab wounds and one Hindu with a broken skull at Madanpura.

At 8 p.m. a Muhammadan named Din Mohammad Nur Mohammad was assaulted on Suparibaug Road. He was treated at the K. E. M. Hospital for an abrasion on the back.

At 8 p.m. the Rangari Musjid at the corner of Kalachowki Road and Parel Road was attacked by Hindu millhands who took shelter in Sitabai Chawl on seeing the Police and military. As it was reported that this gang repeatedly rushed out of Sitabai's Chawl and stoned the Musjid, the military and the Police under the order of the Magistrate searched Sitabai's Chawl and a large quantity of bamboos, bludgeons and piping was seized. 25 persons were arrested on suspicion and taken to Bhoiwada Police Station but they were discharged for want of evidence.

About the same time a Muhammadan, Bahadurshah Kadirshah, a Fakir, was assaulted by the Hindu millhands at Lalbaug. He was treated at the K. E. M. Hospital and discharged.

At about 8 p.m. one Keshav Balu, aged about 26, was assaulted with sticks by some Muhammadans in the Pydhoni section. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 8-30 p.m. the Dhondfode Musjid on Parel Road was stoned and 2 persons named Kaderbhai Babamia and Abdul Rahman Abdul Kadar were injured.

At about 8-30 p.m. rioting broke out in 13th lane Kamatipura and spread over the adjoining localities. The Police had to open fire at the junction of 5th lane Kamatipura and Centre Road. One round was fired but no one was injured.

At about 8-30 p.m. one Mulji Hargovandas, aged 42, was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks at Abdul Rehman Street. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At 8-30 p.m. one Tuljaram Devjiram a silk merchant at Jackeria Musjid, came to the Princess Street Police Station and asked for help as his shop was being looted by Muhammadans. The complainant was given a Police party.

At 8-35 p.m. one Sundersi Iyer was removed to the G. T. Hospital as he was stabbed at Bhendi Bazaar by some Muhammadans in a tram car. Another Hindu named Mulji was also removed to the G. T. Hospital as he was assaulted by a Muhammadan mob at Nagdevi.

At 9 p.m. some peace makers in two motor cars drove up towards Kalachowki along Parel Road. On their return they were stoned by some Hindus. Some Muhammadans from a mosque came out to protect them and a fight with stones and soda water bottles started. The mob dispersed on the arrival of the Police.

At about 9 p.m. one Yakubali Khan, aged 14, was assaulted by Hindus on Musjid Bunder Road. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 9-30 p.m. a serious disturbance between the Muhammadans and the Hindus at Abdul Rehman Street, Nagdevi Street, Kolsa Mohalla, Narayan Dhuru Street and Nagdevi Cross lane took place and the military and the Police opened fire under orders of the Magistrate. The firing had a good effect and the night passed off peacefully in that locality.

At about 9-30 p.m. information was received that a crowd of Hindus created a disturbance at Vithalwadi and molested some residents there. The Police went with an armed police party and arrested 10 men. The Muhammadan residents were given protection with the help of the Hindu residents of the locality they were sent to their relatives in the Muhammadan localities.

At 9-45 p.m. one Mr. Pradhan, a Customs Preventive Officer at Sion fired three shots on being informed that Pathans were throwing stones. The Police searched the locality but could find no Pathans about.

At about 10 p.m. one Maruti Rajaram, aged 22, was assaulted by some Muhammadans on Pydhoni Road. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital. About this time one Mulji Khorman, aged 25, was assaulted by Muhammadans at Nagdevi Street. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

About this time there were also cases of stray assaults as a result of which seven persons were treated at the G. T. Hospital and 3 at the J. J. Hospital from the Pydhoni section.

At about 10-30 p.m. one Shaikh Ismail Mohammad Hamid was assaulted by some persons at Teili Galli. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital for injuries on the head and arm and allowed to go.

At about 10-30 p.m. the Police dispersed a crowd of Hindus who had collected at Naviwadi Girgaum Road, when it was attacking tram cars.

At 10-45 p.m. a Hindu boy named Bāndia Dadoo, aged 12, was removed to the G. T. Hospital from Thakurdwar Road as he was stabbed by two Muhammadans.

At 11 p.m. Doctor Gopalia from Kalbadevi Road gave information that a Hindu boy named Shambhu Shivram, an Excise peon, was assaulted by a Muhammadan on Kalbadevi Road and was removed to the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

A Victoria driver named Kunja Goman was removed from Thakurdwar Road to the G. T. Hospital for injuries. Another Hindu was assaulted by Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar and was sent to hospital. A taxi belonging to J. E. Lewis was attacked by a Hindu mob on Kalbadevi Road and damaged.

On the request of some Hindu gentlemen, some Hindu families living in Patka and other buildings in the Muhammadan localities were given protection and brought to Mahajanwadi on Kalbadevi Road in lorries where a Hindu relief house for the helpless was opened.

At about 11 p.m. two unknown Hindus were assaulted in Sankli Street. They died the following day at the J. J. Hospital. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded at the Agripada Police Station. About this time a Hindu was assaulted at Haines Road and he was detained in the hospital for treatment.

At 11-30 p.m. an unknown Hindu, aged 25, was assaulted by some Muhammadans in Nagdevi Street. He was taken in an unconscious state to the G. T. Hospital where he died on the 14th February. The body was disposed of after the inquest and a case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhoni Police Station.

About 12 midnight the Police and the military dispersed a crowd that created a disturbance at Shaikh Memon Street and Abdul Rehman Street by throwing stones. One Victoria driver named Laxman Rama, who received injuries on the head, was treated at the G. T. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 1-30 a.m. on the night of the 8th February one Dawood Tyeb, aged 30, was assaulted by some Hindus in Bardan Gully. He was

removed to the J. J. Hospital for treatment and subsequently discharged.

At about 1-30 a.m. on the night of the 8th, two unknown Hindu dead bodies were found in the Nagdevi Cross Lane. One of them appeared to have died of gun shots by the military and the other as a result of a murderous attack by some Muhammadans. After the necessary inquests the dead bodies were disposed of.

9th February 1929

On the morning of 9th February 1929 the mill area opened well, 55 mills being at work but panic was rampant in the south. The tram service was practically stopped and Victorias were not running. Hindus and Muhammadans were being murdered as opportunity offered and by the time the Police and the military arrived on the spot the murder gang had disappeared. During the day there was much looting of shops in the Princess Street area. The military opened fire on 4 occasions at Kamatipura (7 rounds), at Nakhoda Street (18 rounds), Kalbadevi Road (22 rounds) and Abdul Rehman Street (7 rounds). The casualties were 2 killed and 13 wounded.

The following incidents took place on the 9th February 1929 :—

At about 7-45 a.m. an unknown Hindu, aged 28, who was walking along Ripon Road was stabbed on the neck by some unknown Muhammadan. The injured person walked a few paces and dropped down dead.

At about 8 a.m. one Hussain Nizam who was cycling along Parel Road was stoned by some Hindus opposite the Venus Cinema. His cycle was damaged. He received slight injuries but refused to go to hospital.

About 8 a.m. information was received from Veerchand Ranchod, a Mehta in the employ of Messrs. Venichand Jaitdas, Shroff of Shaikh Memon Street, that his servant Ramsis Panda who had left the shop about 10-30 p.m. the previous night was lying dead at the junction of Abdul Rehman Street and Sutar Chawl. He had three stab wounds and it appeared that he was assaulted in the riots the previous night. A case under sections 147 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the Princess Street Police Station.

At 8 a.m. one Pralhad Umiashankar, aged 14, was assaulted by some Pathans at Chakla Street. He was treated by the Parsi Ambulance Doctor at the Phydhoni Police Station and subsequently removed to the G. T. Hospital where he was treated and allowed to go.

At about 8-30 a.m. one Kanaiya Swami, aged 40, was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks on Musjid Bunder Road. He was removed to the G. T. Hospital in the Municipal Ambulance for treatment.

At about 8-30 a.m. information was received that there was rioting in the 6th lane Kamatipura. The Police and the military went to disperse the crowd. As the crowd was persistent in throwing stones at the Police it was dispersed by opening fire under the orders of the Magistrate.

At about 9 a.m. a dead body of an unknown Hindu mendicant was found at Temkar Street with a fractured skull.

About this time a report was received that in 1st Kumbarwada Street two Muhammadans were assaulted. The Police visited the scene and houses in the vicinity of the scene of assault were searched and sticks and other articles likely to be used as weapons of offence were taken charge of.

At about 9 a.m. a crowd of Muhammadans including Bohras on one side and a crowd of Hindus on the other armed with sticks, knives and stones started trouble in Abdul Rehman and Nagdevi Streets. Some of the residents of the place also threw stones, brickbats and bottles from their quarters. The whole of the locality was in a state of turmoil but on the arrival of the military the crowds melted away. In spite of the patrolling by two military pickets crowds reassembled and the whole of Abdul Rehman Street was blocked. As warnings had practically no effect the military had to open fire between 11 a.m. and 12 noon several times in Nakhoda Street, Nagdevi Street, Abdul Rehman Street in Pydhoni section and Mirza Street in Princess Street section. In the Mirza Street firing one Hindu named Bhagwatiprasad Nepal received a bullet wound for which he was treated at the G. T. Hospital. In the Nagdevi Street firing two Muhammadans named Umar Mohammad Abdul Rahim, aged 27, and Ali Ahmed, aged 23, were removed to the G. T. Hospital and J. J. Hospital respectively. The first of them had received a gunshot wound in the stomach while the second had a fractured skull owing to a bullet wound.

At about 9-30 a.m. two Hindus named Karsondas Harjiwan, aged 40, and Hari Santoo, aged 40, were assaulted by some Muhammadans at Narayan Dhuru Street and Nagdevi Street. They were detained at the G. T. Hospital for treatment.

At about 10 a.m. one Ramchandra Jagannath, aged 35, was assaulted by Pathans on Pydhoni Road. He was treated at the G. T. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 10 a.m. one Shaikh Ahmed Mohammad Yusuf, aged 60, Havaldar of the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, was found lying unconscious at Abdul Rehman Street at its junction with Musjid Bunder Road. He died soon after admission to the J. J. Hospital. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhoni Police Station.

At about 10 a.m. it was reported to the Police that a Hindu named Gangadin Budha had been assaulted by some Muhammadans at Ripon Road the previous night and that he had died in his room as a result of the assault.

At about 11 a.m. information was received that there was a riot at Foras Road. The Police and the military tried to disperse the crowd at the corner of Foras Road and Sukhlaji Street but they were stoned by the crowd which was therefore dispersed by revolver fire. Three rioters were arrested.

At about this time one Allarakhia Moulabax, /aged 35, was assaulted by some Hindus at Dongri Street. He was removed to the hospital for treatment.

At about 11-25 a.m. information was received that an unknown Hindu, aged 35, had died in the G. T. Hospital the previous night as the result of an assault at Abdul Rehman Street. The dead body was disposed of after inquest. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Pydhoni Police.

At about 12 noon, 16 large knives were found on the persons of Muhammadans moving along Duncan Road and Bellasis Road. They were seized by the Police under section 113 of Act IV of 1902.

At noon trouble broke out in the Bhuleshwar area for which the Bhaiyyas and the Ghatis were responsible. Shops were looted, such of the contents thereof as were not taken by the looters were scattered about and picked up by anybody who felt so inclined. The handcart of a Muhammadan hawker was overturned, oil poured over it and set alight. The Police and the military hastened to the spot and fired three rounds when the mob scattered. Some 42 persons were arrested—some of them in possession of stolen property. Frequent patrolling stopped the mob from doing any further mischief.

At about 12-15 p.m. one Ebrahim Mohammad Ali was stoned by some Hindus on Parel Road opposite the Venus Cinema. He was treated at the J. J. Hospital for a contused wound on the head and allowed to go.

At about 12-35 p.m. one Sahadeo Singh Jagmohan Singh, aged 35, was admitted to the G. T. Hospital and detained for wounds inflicted on Pydhoni Road by some Muhammadans unknown.

At 12-50 p.m. information was received that one Shankerlal Keshavlale, aged 40, was removed to the G. T. Hospital as a result of an assault by some Muhammadans on Pydhoni Road in the early morning in which he had received injuries to his head.

Between 12-30 p.m. and 1 p.m. three Muhammadans were assaulted with sticks and knives at Nakhoda Street and nine Muhammadans were similarly assaulted at Kolsa Mohalla. One of them died in the hospital.

At about 1 p.m. a mob of about 200 Muhammadans armed with sticks and stones were carrying on a guerilla warfare in the Bhajipala Lane. They were stoning the Multani residents of the locality and Hindu passers-by. They practically defied the Police and military although warned several times and the military opened fire under the order of the Magistrate. Six persons were injured.

At about 2 p.m. one Hayati Fazal and one Raji Kallaroo were assaulted with stones and sticks at Kalachowki Road by some Hindus Both of them were treated at the J. J. Hospital for contused wounds and allowed to go.

At about 2 p.m. the dead body of an unknown Muhammadan was found lying on Kamatipura Bazaar Road with stab wounds on the abdomen.

At about 2 p.m. two Muhammadans named Mohammad Hussain Salamat and Suratali Habdhar were assaulted by some Hindus on Kalachowki Road. They were treated at the J. J. Hospital and allowed to go.

At about 3 p.m. some Hindus started assaulting Muhammadans on Parel Road and an unknown Muhammadan was stabbed. About the same time some Hindus started throwing stones at the mosque on Parel Road. When the Muhammadans came out of the mosque, the Hindus residing in the chawls opposite the Venus Cinema stoned them; but the trouble stopped on the arrival of the Police.

In the afternoon when the Police and the military were engaged in suppressing riots in the Pydhoni section, Hindu crowds assembled in thousands in Shaikh Memon Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bhuleshwar, Thakurdwar and Dadishet Agiari Lane. They started breaking open the Muhammadan shops in these localities. Before the armed Police and the military came up, the goods of the looted shops were removed, damaged or burnt. The military had to open fire and make a bayonet charge on Kalbadevi Road at about 4 p.m. when a big safe from an optician's shop was being forced open. In this firing and bayonet charge one Hindu was bayonetted and died in the hospital and three Hindus were treated at the G. T. Hospital for bullet wounds and a Muhammadan was also shot dead. In Shaikh Memon Street some persons were found removing property from the shops which were broken open. The military made a bayonet charge and ten Hindus were arrested in a Jeweller's shop. Out of these ten men one named Hira Ramdin died in the G. T. Hospital from bayonet wounds and two others received injuries. One Policeman who received slight injuries was treated at the G. T. Hospital. In connection with the shops broken open and looted by the rioters, 22 complaints under sections 147, 380, 454, 427 and 324, Indian Penal Code, were subsequently recorded. As a result of these disorders in different localities of the Princess Street section two Muhammadans were removed for injuries received in the riot at Kalbadevi Road to the G. T. Hospital; one Muhammadan was removed to hospital from old Hanuman Lane; one Hindu and one Muhammadan were taken to hospital from Gaiwadi and Kalbadevi Road; two Hindu Bhaiyyas were sent to hospital from Cathedral Street; six Hindus were sent to hospital from Bhuleshwar Road and one Muhammadan was sent from Girgaum Road. Three Hindus were arrested with part of the stolen property while looting a cloth shop at the junction of Princess Street and Kalbadevi Road; five Muhammadans armed with sticks and knives were arrested at Abdul Rehman Street with some stolen property in their possession; 28 Hindus were arrested for rioting and looting on Shaikh Memon Street, Bhuleshwar and Kalbadevi Road, some of whom were armed with lathis and some of whom were found with stolen property; five Hindus were arrested on Kalbadevi Road and one Hindu was arrested on Shaikh Memon Street with stolen property. Sixteen Bhaiyyas were subsequently arrested in connection with the looting of shops in Shaikh Memon Street and some stolen property was recovered from them.

At about 4 p.m. information was received of rioting in Kamatipura. The Police and the military went to the locality when a large crowd was seen looting a soda water cart. When asked to disperse the crowd threw stones at the Police and firing was resorted to under orders of the Magistrate.

At about 4-30 p.m. a report was received from the G. T. Hospital that one Mohammad Sale Akil, aged 26, had died at the G. T. Hospital owing to fracture of the skull. The place of assault could not be ascertained.

At 4-30 p.m. the dead body of a Hindu Pardeshi was found in Arthur Road stables and the dead body of a Muhammadan was found on Arthur Road. Cases under the Indian Penal Code were recorded by the Byculla Police Station.

At about 4-30 p.m. one Hussain Abdul Kadar was found unconscious on Parel Road. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was treated and discharged.

At about 4-45 p.m. information was received that two Hindus were killed at Dhorwada, Dharavi. It was found that they had been murdered by a crowd of Pathans and other Muhammadans armed with sticks and knives. In addition to killing these two men they also assaulted another man who made good his escape. On the injured persons coming out of the hospital enquiries were made and 13 Muhammadans were arrested subsequently. Eleven were kept in custody and two were bailed out pending further enquiries.

At about 5 p.m. the dead body of a Hindu named Dhondu Daulat was found in 10th Lane Kamatipura with a stab wound on his abdomen and other injuries. Five persons were arrested in this case by the Nagpada Police.

At about 5 p.m. one Chotalal Amarchand, aged 28, was removed to G. T. Hospital from Nagdevi Street for an assault by some Muhammadans.

At about 7 p.m. a Muhammadan was found lying unconscious near the Morarji Gokaldas Mill and taken to the K. E. M. Hospital where he was detained.

At about 7 p.m. some Hindu millhands raided a glass factory at Naigaum. Three Pathan watchmen were assaulted, the factory gates were damaged and property belonging to the Pathans worth Rs. 100 was taken out and burnt on the road. On the arrival of the Police the Hindus disappeared across the maidan. The family of one of the Pathans was taken to the Muhammadan locality at Vadala. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded and in the course of enquiries three Hindu millhands who were identified by the Pathans, were arrested.

At about 8 p.m. one Ali Akbar Moula, aged 35, was assaulted on Musjid Bunder Road by some Hindus. He was taken to the J. J. Hospital for treatment.

At about 8 p.m. a riot took place at Tardeo and three Muhammadans were injured by a gang of Hindus and Bhaiyyas and a heap of grass inside a stable was set on fire causing damage to the extent of Rs. 200.

At about 8-30 p.m. one Shantilal Lalbhai, aged 25 years, was taken to the J. J. Hospital suffering from gunshot wound on his left side which he had received in Nagdevi Street on the previous day.

At 9 p.m. a Muhammadan Fakir named Rahman Javamia was found on Vincent Road with his left hand cut off. He was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital and a case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Bhoiwada Police Station.

At 1-45 a.m. on the night of the 9th February a Hindu named Rama Bala was standing near the Gas Company premises at Lalwadi when some one from a passing motor car shot at him. He was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital where it was found that he had a bullet through the scrotum. A case under the Indian Penal Code was recorded by the Bhoiwada Police Station.

During this day there were various stray assaults in different localities and at different times which came to the notice of the Police later on. About 20 Hindus and four Muhammadans were assaulted in the Nagapada area. One of them named Balkrishna Laxman was stabbed by a knife at Bellasis Road and he died in the hospital. Two Muhammadans were assaulted in the Bhoiwada section. There were seven assault cases at Clerk Road, Haines Road and Arthur Road in the Agripada section. Two assaults took place at DeLisle Road and Chinchpokli Road in the Byculla section. During the night a mob of about 2,000 Hindus collected on Kalachowki Road and adjacent lanes with sticks and they were suspected to be preparing to attack a mosque but on arrival of the military and the Police they dispersed.

10th February 1929

On Sunday the 10th February the situation was on the whole better but though the outrages were less, panic continued. It was decided to comb out the locality between Abdul Rehman Street and Nagdevi Street. The military drew a cordon round the area and the police searched for suspicious characters and arrested 164. A Parsi and a Hindu had previously been killed in this locality during the day.

The various incidents that took place during the day are narrated below :—

In the early morning of the 10th February a Hindu fruit-seller employed in the market in " A " Division was found murdered. No clue to the murderers could be obtained.

At 10 a.m. a tea shop at Arthur Road, Tardeo, was looted by rioters and a sum of Rs. 42 was taken away from the money box. The rioters caused damage to the contents of the shop and some stables to the extent of Rs. 400.

At about 11-30 a.m. information was received that there was trouble at Bhuleshwar. The police and the military proceeded there and some eight Hindus were arrested for rioting.

About 12 noon a party of about 30 members of the city volunteers consisting of Hindus and Muhammadans was proceeding on their mission

of peace along Kalbadevi Road to Fanaswadi when they were set upon by a crowd of about 50 to 60 Hindus who came out of the lanes with sticks and stones. Six Muhammadan members and one Hindu member were injured of whom three Muhammadans and the Hindu subsequently died of the injuries.

At about 12-45 p.m. about 700 men collected at Fergusson Road and threw stones at the mosque situated there causing some damage. They removed property worth about Rs. 213-8-0 belonging to the mosque. No arrests were made but a case under the Indian Penal Coad was registered by the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At 1 p.m. a Muhammadan named Mohammad Ismail was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital from Currey Road where he was assaulted by some 3 Hindus with chappals and stones.

At 1-30 p.m. a Muhammadan named Gafoor Ramzan was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital from Kalachowki Road as he was assaulted by 2 Hindus with sticks.

At 1-45 p.m. one Muhammadan named Abdul Syed Ali was assaulted by 2 unknown Hindus at DeLisle Road with stones. He refused to go to hospital.

At 2 p.m. a Muhammadan named Abdul Latif was stabbed by 3 Hindus on Currey Road. He was removed to the K. E. M. Hospital and a case under the Indian Penal Code was registered by the Bhoiwada Police Station.

At about 3 p.m. a Muhammadan mob attacked a tram car which was going along Nagdevi Street from north to south. This mob stabbed one Parsi named Jal Bapuji Bazaarmaster, aged 50 years and a Hindu Ghati name not known, aged 35, and killed them on the spot. This mob also assaulted one Chunilal Chotalal Patel who was taken to the G. T. Hospital but his relatives removed him to Dr. Bhajekar's hospital on 26th February 1929 where he died the next day.

At about 3 p.m. 6 Hindus were assaulted in a tram car at the junction of Nagdevi Street and Carnac Road. About the same time one Shiva Babu, aged 25, was also assaulted at Nagdevi Street by some Muhammadans.

At about 3-45 p.m. an unknown Hindu who was subsequently identified as Kitabi Rupatram was found lying injured at Mastan Tank with a stab wound on his abdomen. He died on the way to hospital.

At about 4 p.m. the dead body of one Ali Mohammad Jalal, a Victoria driver, was found near the Bakreka Adda, DeLisle Road. A case under sections 147, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Byculla Police Station.

At about 4 p.m. 164 persons were rounded up in Nagdevi Street, Bhajipala Lane, Abdul Rehman Street, Carnac Road and the neighbouring by-lanes by the military and the police. They were removed to the Worli camp for detention.

At about 9-30 p.m. information was received that there was fighting going on at Kamatipura between Hindus and Muhammadans. The Police went to the locality dispersed the crowd and arrested some of the rioters.

11th February 1929

On Monday the 11th February there was still further improvement in the situation. A comb out of bad characters was carried out during the day by the military and the Police in Nullbazaar, Kumbharwada and the Northbrook Gardens areas. Similar action was taken in certain parts of the mill area where the Police made a collection of bludgeons, iron bars, spear-head, and various improvised weapons. The month of Ramzan began from this date. Orders were issued that Muhammadans going to their prayers after the Curfew order were not to be interfered with if they proceeded peacefully and unarmed to the mosques and that Police should be stationed at the mosques to follow them after prayers to see that no disturbance occurred. From this day business gradually returned to normal. The few incidents that took place during the day are detailed as under :—

At about 7 a.m. one Nanji Bhavan, aged 38, was stabbed with a knife on Nagdevi Street by some Muhammadans.

At about 8 a.m. a Muhammadan named Ahmed Cassum was stoned by three Hindus at Lalwadi. He was taken to the K. E. M. Hospital and discharged.

At about 8 a.m. a Muhammadan named Mohiddin Nur Mohammad, a jobber of Jamshed mills, was assaulted by some unknown Hindus on Fergusson Road while entering the mill gate. Five arrests were made. A case under sections 147, 149 and 326, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At about 9-30 a.m. a Muhammadan named Ahmed Lalumia was assaulted by two unknown Hindus at Globe mill lane with a sharp instrument. The assailants could not be traced.

At 10-30 a.m. one Bhika Kerson, while driving in a Victoria along DeLisle Road, was assaulted with stones. He went to the Adam Wylie Hospital on Lamington Road. He could not be traced subsequently.

At about 10-30 a.m. the dead body of an unknown Hindu was found lying at the junction of Grant Road and Telli Mohalla. It was removed to the morgue at the J. J. Hospital.

At about 10-45 a.m. two Muhammadans named Shaikh Abdul Kadir and Ibrahim Mohammad were suddenly assaulted at Saitan Chowki by a mob of about 20 Hindus who came from the direction of the neighbouring chawls. A case under sections 147, and 326, Indian Penal Code, was recorded at the DeLisle Road Police station.

At about 10-45 a.m. a Muhammadan named Nur Mohammad Sher Cassum was assaulted by two unknown Hindus with fists and sticks. The assailants could not be traced.

At 11 a.m. one Mohammad Ali Ahmedbhoy, aged 25, was stabbed on Sydenham Road by some Hindus. He was treated at the G. T. Hospital.

At about 11-30 a.m. one Mulchand Manilal, aged 19, went to the G. T. Hospital for treatment as he was assaulted by some Muhammadans in Kolsa Mohalla on the night of the 9th.

At about 12 noon one Mir Ahmed Ali Jumma, aged 22, went to G. T. Hospital for an assault committed on him by some Hindus in Barbhai Mohalla on the previous day.

At about 3 p.m. a report was received that some Hindu Bhangis from Cutchraputti were attacking some Pathans. 3 Pathans were severely injured and two of them died the same day. 23 Bhangis were arrested. At about 3-30 p.m. 48 persons were rounded up at Kumbharwada, Duncan Road, Sandhurst Road and Northbrook Street by the Police assisted by the military. Of these 45 were Hindus and 3 Muhammadans.

At about 4-30 p.m. in consequence of repeated attacks by Hindu millhands on Rangari musjid on Parel Road the Police and the military made a raid on the chawls on Arthur Road bridge under the orders of the Magistrate. The raid resulted in a large quantity of bamboos, iron piping and bludgeons being found. 48 persons were arrested and removed to the Bhoiwada Police Station. Out of them 8 were released on bail and the remaining 40 were sent to the Worli lock-up and subsequently released for want of evidence.

At about 6-30 p.m. a Muhammadan name not known was found dead at Khed Gulli, Sayani Road, with a stab wound. A case under sections 148, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, was registered at the DeLisle Road Police Station.

At 8 p.m. one Mohammad Imam, a G. I. P. Railway Police Constable No. 669, was removed to the K. E. M. Hospital from one of the streets at Naigaum. He was assaulted by some Hindus with sticks when he was returning home after having his food in Bombay Development Department Chawl No. 5 and rendered unconscious. He regained consciousness the next day. In the course of enquiries 8 persons were arrested by the Bhoiwada Police Station.

During this day three Hindus were assaulted in the Dongri section and two Hindus and a Muhammadan were assaulted in the Nagpada section.

12th February 1929

At about 9-15 a.m. two Muhammadans one named Syed Mohammad and the other not known were found injured on Sun Mill lane. The second died in the hospital soon after admission.

At about 11 a.m. information was received that one Babu Devi was lying with his throat cut in his room at Hathi Baug, Love Lane. The offence is alleged to have been committed on the night of 11th February. A case under section 302, Indian Penal Code, was recorded by the Byculla Police Station.

At about 2-30 p.m. in consequence of repeated assaults on the Pathan camp at Poibavdi and the fatal assault on Deputy Inspector Priestly, a raid was made by the Police and the military accompanied by a Magistrate on the Kolis' Chawls at Hospital Avenue opposite the K. E. M. Hospital and about 300 sticks, bludgeons, etc., were seized. 12 Hindus were arrested on suspicion and sent to Worli camp but subsequently bailed out for want of evidence.

13th February 1929

At about 6-30 a.m. information was received that the dead body of a Muhammadan had been found lying on Lady Jamshetji Road. His name and address could not be ascertained.

At about 8 a.m. a Muhammadan Fakir named Baidulla Khan Bahadur Ali was stoned by some Hindus at Vadala. He was treated at the K. E. M. Hospital and discharged.

On the 13th February the DeLisle Road Police Station raided 4 chawls occupied by mill-hands including the DeLisle Road centre of the Girni Kamgar Union and seized 125 bamboos, 25 iron pipe pieces, 7 iron rods, 6 iron axes and 15 large stones.

On the 14th no weapons were seized.

Cases of incendiarism

The following cases of incendiarism took place during the riots :—

1. At about 8-30 a.m. on the 4th February 1929, a mob of mill-hands assaulted 3 Pathans opposite the B. B. & C. I. Railway workshop on DeLisle Road, entered their houses and brought out their clothes, etc., on the road and burnt them.

2. At about 8-30 a.m. on the 4th February 1929, a mob of Hindus attacked the residences on Albert Road of Pathans named Issakhan Saifukhan and Abdul Rehman Khan Sadikhan. The contents of their houses were looted and burnt. The property stolen in this case was valued at Rs. 573 and the property damaged amounted to Rs. 175.

3. At about 10-15 a.m. on the 4th February a room of a Pathan at Parbhadevi Road was broken into by a mob of mill-hands and the occupants of the room were severely assaulted with stones and logs of wood, 3 Pathans received serious injuries and one of them died in hospital. The property of the Pathans consisting of clothing, bedding, account books, etc., was burnt.

4. At about 11 a.m. on 6th February 1929, one Rama Laxman, driver of labour cart No. 3553, was assaulted with a stick by a Muhammadan on Parel Road near Piru Havaldar lane. The driver ran away leaving his cart on the road. The rioters set fire to the kerosene oil tins, cotton waste, etc., which were loaded in the cart. A military picket with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Port, arrived and extinguished the fire.

5. At about noon on the 9th February 1929 there was trouble in the Bhuleshwar area for which the Bhaiyyas and the Ghatis were responsible.

Shops were looted, the contents thereof being stolen or scattered about. The handcart of a Muhammadan hawker was overturned, oil poured over it and set alight.

6. At about 7 p.m. on the 9th February some Hindu mill-hands raided a glass factory at Naigaum. 3 Pathan watchmen were assaulted, factory gates damaged and property belonging to the Pathans worth about Rs. 100 was taken out and burnt on the road.

Attacks on religious institutions

During the riots the following attacks on religious institutions were made :—

1. At about 4 a.m. on the 6th February information was received that sometime about midnight on the 5th February 1929, a Hindu temple at Jail Road east and 2 Hindu temples at 1st Chinchbunder Road were broken open, images desecrated and property looted by some Muhammadan rioters.

2. At about 2 p.m. on the 6th February a mixed crowd of Pathans and other Muhammadans desecrated a Hindu temple at Mastan Talao.

3. A Musjid at Ghoghari Mohalla was stoned.

4. At about 8 p.m. on the 8th February the Rangari Musjid at the corner of Kalachowki Road and Parel Road was attacked by Hindu mill-hands who took shelter in Sitabai's Chawl on seeing the Police and the military.

5. At about 3 p.m. on the 9th February some Hindus started throwing stones at a mosque on Parel Road.

6. At about 12-45 p.m. on the 10th February about 700 people collected at Fergusson Road and threw stones at the mosque situated there causing some damage. They removed property worth about Rs. 213-8-0 belonging to the mosque.

APPENDIX A

List showing the disposition of the Military pickets

1. Head Police Office.
2. Argyle Road.
3. Golpitha.
4. Kalachowki.
5. Jackaria Bunder.
6. Bhavani Shanker Road.
7. J. J. Hospital.
8. Bhuleshwar Road.
9. Tardeo.
10. Jacob Circle.
11. Sewri.
12. Lalwadi.
13. Fergusson Road.
14. Pydhoni.
15. Bhendi Bazaar.
16. Two Tanks.
17. Nagpada.
18. Poibavdi.
19. DeLisle Road and Currey Road.
20. Ghorupdeo.
21. Umerkhadi (Sandhurst Road and Dongri Street).
22. Wadi Bunder Police Lines.
23. Abdul Rehman Street.
24. Princess Street.

APPENDIX B

List showing the number of deaths that occurred as a result of the riots from the 3rd February 1929 up to 10th April 1929

Date.	Europeans.	Pathans.	Other Muhammadans.	Hindus.	Parsis.	Total.
3rd February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
4th February 1929 ..	..	6	..	..	..	6
5th February 1929 ..	1	11	2	3	..	17
6th February 1929 ..	..	3	..	9	..	12
7th February 1929 ..	..	1	5	19	..	25
8th February 1929 ..	..	..	4	32	..	36
9th February 1929 ..	..	..	8	13	..	21
10th February 1929 ..	..	..	4	6	1	11
11th February 1929 ..	..	3	2	3	..	8
12th February 1929 ..	..	..	2	..	..	2
13th February 1929 ..	..	1	1	..	..	2
14th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
15th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
16th February 1929 ..	..	..	1	..	..	1
17th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
18th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19th February 1929 to 24th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
26th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27th February 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
28th February 1929 ..	..	1	..	..	..	1
1st March 1929 to 8th March 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9th March 1929 ..	..	..	..	1	..	1
10th March 1929 to 10th April 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grand Total ..	1	26	29	92	1	149

Statement from the hospitals' returns showing the number of Pathans and other Muhammadans, Hindus, Europeans, etc., injured (excluding the dead) in the last riots brought up to 10th April 1929

Europeans.	Pathans.	Other Muhammadans.	Hindus.	Christians.	Parsis.	Grand Total.
Nil.	82	186	459	11	1	739

APPENDIX

Statement of fatal casualties during the recent riots in Bombay

Serial No. 1	Name. 2	Residence if any. 3	Caste. 4	Age. 5
1	Bhima Daya	Dharavi	Hindu ..	30
2	Haibat Khan Abdul Khan ..	Do.	Pathan ..	40
3	Sidda Hassan Mir Hassan Khan ..	Do.	Do. ..	46
4	Mahomed Husain Sidda Hassan ..	Do.	Do. ..	22
5	Nazir Khan Subal Khan	.....	Do. ..	27
6	Sahibjan Abdul Aziz	....	Do. ..	25
7	Soma Laxman	....	Hindu ..	30
8	Agha Mahomed Jallandar ..	Parbadevi	Pathan ..	35
9	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
10	Gul Mahomed Jan Mahomed ..	Shaitan Chauki ..	Do. ..	45
11	Unknown	....	Do. ..	38
12	Bilal Husain	....	Muhammadan ..	35
13	Havildar Gul Mahomed Wali Mahomed	....	Pathan ..	40
14	Unknown	....	Do. ..	29
15	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
16	Tulsiram Tatiaba	....	Hindu ..	30
17	Rambhav Ganpat	....	Do. ..	50
18	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	30
19	D. I. Priestley	Bhoiwada Police Station.	European ..	35
20	Isa Khan Saifulla Khan	....	Pathan ..	27
21	Payam Khan Turbaz	....	Do. ..	35
22	Ali Mahomed Rahu	....	Do. ..	40
23	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
24	Syed Tahurshah Syed Faizu ..	....	Do. ..	35
25	Baboo Dewra	....	Hindu ..	28
26	Kalka Singh Balkaran Singh ..	....	Do. ..	29
27	Unknown	....	Pathan ..	30
28	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
29	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
30	Laxman Anant	....	Hindu ..	35
31	Unknown	....	Do. ..	45
32	Unknown	....	Do. ..	40

C

as given in the register of the Coroner, Bombay

Locality where injured. 6	Date of death. 7	Place of death. 8	By whom brought in. 9	Date of inquest. 10
Sun mill Cross Lane, DeLisle Road.	3rd February 1929.	K. E. M. Hospital ..	Sgt.: Raymond DeLisle Road Police Station.	4th February 1929.
Dharavi ..	4th February 1929.	Dharavi ..	P. C. No. 812/F ..	5th February 1929.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Unknown ..	Do. ..	K. E. M. Hospital ..	Sgt. of Kingsway Police Station.	Do.
Arthur Road Bridge ..	5th February 1929.	Arthur Road Bridge	S. I. Deshpande ..	Do.
Carnac Road ..	Do. ..	Kamathipura ..	P. C. No. 2756/B ..	6th February 1929.
Parbadevi ..	Do. ..	K. E. M. Hospital ..	....	Do.
DeLisle Road ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Shaitan Chauki ..	4th February 1929.	Shaitan Chauki ..	....	Do.
Tulsi Pipe Road ..	5th February 1929.	Tulsi Pipe Road ..	....	Do.
Worli Road ..	Do. ..	K. E. M. Hospital ..	....	Do.
Worli Hill ..	Do. ..	Worli Hill ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do.	K. E. M. Hospital ..	....	Do.
Chauna Galli, Parbadevi.	4th February 1929.	Chauna Galli, Parbadevi.	....	Do.
Dongri Maidan ..	6th February 1929.	Dongri Maidan ..	P. C. No. 1920/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Morland Road ..	5th February 1929.	Morland Road ..	P. C. No. 1230/D ..	Do.
Chamar Baug, Parel ..	Do. ..	K. E. M. Hospital ..	....	Do.
Arthur Road Bridge ..	Do. ..	Arthur Road Bridge	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	J. J. Hospital ..	....	Do.
Kala Chauki Road ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Parel Road ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Babula Tank Road ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Mazgaon Road ..	6th February 1929.	Mazgaon Road ..	....	7th February 1929.
Do ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Dongri ..	Do. ..	Dongri ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	Do.	G. T. Hospital ..	....	Do.
Bhendy Bazar ..	Do. ..	J. J. Hospital ..	....	Do.

APPENDIX

Serial No.	Name.	Residence if any.	Caste.	Age.
1	2	3	4	5
33	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	35
34	Pandoo Govind	7th Lane, Khetwad. ..	Do. ..	25
35	Shivdas Narsi	Kumbharwada ..	Do. ..	65
36	Lalji Dosa	....	Do. ..	48
37	Chatturbhuj Lalji	....	Do. ..	16
38	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
39	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
40	Baliya Laxman	....	Do. ..	55
41	Unknown	....	Do. ..	22
42	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
43	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	30
44	Sonoo Krishna	....	Hindu ..	30
45	Bana Kala	....	Do. ..	25
46	Juggoo	....	Do. ..	30
47	Laxuman Rama	....	Do. ..	30
48	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
49	Abdul Rehman	....	Muhammadan ..	25
50	Narayan Ramchandra	....	Hindu ..	40
51	Unknown	....	Do. ..	65
52	Bhimji Shivdas	....	Do. ..	45
53	Bana Kanthod	....	Do. ..	55
54	Ibrahim Mulla Ahmed Ali ..	....	Muhammadan ..	22
55	Ismail Mahomed Ali	....	Do. ..	25
56	Sutkoo Sitaram	....	Hindu ..	50
57	Kano Bawaji	....	Do. ..	50
58	Anant Ladoba Chipkar	....	Do. ..	35
59	Jora Din Shera Din	....	Pathan ..	20
60	Bhiva Roopa	....	Hindu ..	40
61	Gangadin Budhoo	....	Do. ..	50
62	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30
63	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
64	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30
65	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30
66	Khemraj Mephan	....	Do. ..	30
67	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30

C—*contd.*

Locality where injured.	Date of death.	Place of death.	By whom brought in.	Date of inquest.
6	7	8	9	10
Sandhurst Road ..	6th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	....	7th February 1929.
Golpitha ..	Do. ..	Kumbharwada ..	P. H. No. 1455/C ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Argyle Road ..	7th February 1929.	Argyle Road ..	P. C. No. 2756/B ..	8th February 1929.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Sydenham Road ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2747/B ..	Do.
Mandvi, Koliwada ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Dhon-Tad Street ..	Do. ..	Dhon-Tad Road ..	P. C. No. 992/B ..	Do.
Bellasis Road ..	Do. ..	Bellasis Road ..	P. C. No. 1303/D ..	Do.
Fanaswadi Lane ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2125/B ..	Do.
Dongri Section ..	6th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2517/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	7th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 3239/B ..	Do.
Chinchbunder Road ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 91/B ..	Do.
Love Lane ..	Do. ..	Love Lane ..	P. C. No. 2448/D ..	Do.
Kumbharwada ..	Do. ..	Kumbharwada ..	P. C. No. 1378/C ..	Do.
Northbrook Garden ..	Do. ..	Northbrook Garden .	P. C. No. 314/C ..	Do.
Two Tanks ..	Do. ..	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 515/C ..	Do.
Mutton Street ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 654/C ..	Do.
Maharbouri Section ..	8th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1947/B ..	Do.
Two Tanks ..	7th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1001/C ..	Do.
Mochi Galli, Maharbouri Section.	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2239/C ..	Do.
Chindi Bazzar, Maharbouri Section.	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Dongri	Do. ..	Dongri	P. C. No. 924/B ..	Do.
Do.	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 301/D ..	Do.
Do.	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Dongri Maidan ..	Do. ..	Dongri Maidan ..	P. C. No. 2563/B ..	Do.
Junction of Sukhlaji St. and Foras Road.	8th February 1929.	Junction of Sukhlaji Street and Foras Road.	P. C. No. 3021/D ..	9th February 1929.
Nagpada Section ..	Do. ..	Nagpada Section ..	P. C. No. 981/D ..	Do.
Ripon Road ..	Do. ..	Ripon Road ..	P. C. No. 2468/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Sgt. Perry/D ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2468/D ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 3021/D ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Nagpada Section ..	Do. ..	Nagpada Section ..	P. C. No. 1118/D ..	Do.

APPENDIX

Serial No.	Name.	Residence if any.	Caste.	Age.
1	2	3	4	5
68	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	35
69	Unknown	....	Muhammadan..	32
70	Pam Padke	....	Hindu ..	35
71	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30
72	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
73	Unknown	....	Do. ..	32
74	Unknown	....	Do. ..	16
75	Unknown	....	Do. ..	20
76	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
77	Dossan Raje	....	Muhammadan..	25
78	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	35
79	Pandoo	....	Do. ..	30
80	Sarfuddin Hassamuddin	....	Muhammadan..	28
81	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	30
82	Unknown	....	Do. ..	25
83	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
84	Unknown	....	Do. ..	30
85	Unknown	....	Do. ..	28
86	Unknown	....	Do. ..	27
87	Unknown	....	Do. ..	32
88	Unknown	....	Muhammadan..	45
89	Vishnu Gopal	....	Hindu ..	35
90	Ganpat Balaji	....	Do. ..	35
91	Soni Devraj	....	Do. ..	60
92	Nizamuddin	....	Muhammadan..	30
93	Ali Ahmed	....	Do. ..	23
94	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	25
95	Unknown	....	Do. ..	40
96	Ramchandra Soonoo	....	Do. ..	45
97	Baboo Saya	....	Do. ..	35
98	Mansa Khapad	....	Do. ..	25
99	Lalloo Devi Dayal	....	Do. ..	45
100	Unknown	....	Do. ..	55
101	Unknown	....	Do. ..	40

C—*contd.*

Locality where injured. 6	Date of death. 7	Place of death. 8	By whom brought in. 9	Date of inquest. 10
Nagpada Section ..	8th February 1929.	Nagpada Section ..	P. C. No. 2468/D ..	9th February 1929.
Textile Mills, DeLisle Road.	Do. ..	Textile Mills, DeLisle Road.	Sgt. Raymond ..	Do.
Dongri Section ..	Do. ..	Dongri Section ..	P. C. No. 3098/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1290/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 236/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 3098/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2660/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Falkland Road ..	Do. ..	Falkland Road ..	P. C. No. 314/C ..	Do.
Maharbouri Section ..	Do. ..	Maharbouri Section	P. C. No. 2246/C ..	Do.
Sutar Chawl ..	Do. ..	Sutar Chawl ..	P. C. No. 2814/B ..	Do.
Fanaswadi ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 3009/B ..	Do.
Pydhoni Section ..	Do. ..	Pydhoni ..	S. I. Raje ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2479/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Near Zakaria Masjid ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 168/B ..	Do.
Lamington Road ..	Do. ..	Lamington Road ..	S. I. Rane ..	Do.
Do. ..	9th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2469/C ..	Do.
Byculla Section ..	8th February 1929.	Byculla Section ..	P. C. No. 938/D ..	Do.
Maharbouri Section ..	Do. ..	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 3534/C ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2586/C ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 380/C ..	Do.
Byculla Section ..	7th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 51/D ..	Do.
Pydhoni Section ..	9th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2781/D ..	Do.
Agripada Section ..	8th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 266/D ..	Do.
Do. ..	9th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 41/D ..	Do.
Dongri Section ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Do. ..	8th February 1929.	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Agripada Section ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1005/D ..	Do.
Nagpada Section ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 628/D ..	Do.
Pydhoni Section ..	7th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 703/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	9th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2102/B ..	Do.

Serial No.	Name.	Residence if any.	Caste.	Age.
1	2	3	4	5
102	Ismail Moosa	....	Muhammadan ..	50
103	Mahomed Salih Akil	....	Do. ..	26
104	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	30
105	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
106	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	35
107	Dhondi Laloo	....	Hindu. ..	60
108	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
109	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	30
110	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	28
111	Dhondo Daulat ..	....	Do. ..	40
112	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	40
113	Shankar Baja	....	Hindu ..	28
114	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	35
115	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	32
116	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
117	Abdul Rohman Abbas	....	Muhammadan ..	35
118	Sh. Ahmed Mahomed Yusuf ..	....	Do. ..	55
119	Jaibapooji	....	Parsi ..	40
120	Ali Mahomed Jaluddin	....	Muhammadan ..	45
121	Unknown	....	Hindu ..	35
122	Vithal Laxman Nivrekar	....	Do. ..	35
123	Unknown	....	Do. ..	20
124	Tutali Rakhpat Ram	....	Do. ..	16
125	Jan Mahomed Haji Mahomed ..	....	Muhammadan ..	19
126	Ali Mahomed Mahomed	....	Do. ..	22
127	Abdul Rohman Haji Buda ..	....	Do. ..	28
128	Balkrishna Laxman	....	Hindu ..	19
129	Tukaram Govind	....	Do. ..	..
130	Kerya Gopal	....	Do. ..	25
131	Unknown	....	Do. ..	40
132	Hira Ramo Din	....	Do. ..	25

LIBRARY ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

C—*contd.*

Locality where injured. 6	Date of death. 7	Place of death. 8	By whom brought in. 9	Date of inquest. 10
Pydhoni Section ..	9th February 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	Dr. Nunan ..	9th February 1929.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1504/B ..	Do.
Bhajipala Lane ..	Do. ..	Bhajipala Lane ..	Dr. Nunan ..	10th February 1929.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Kambekar Street ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Dharavi	Do. ..	Dharavi ..	P. C. No. 1497/F ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.
Fanaswadi ..	Do. ..	Fanaswadi ..	P. C. No. 1192/B ..	Do.
Arthur Road Stable ..	Do. ..	Arthur Road Stable	P. C. No. 1546/D ..	Do.
11th Lane, Kamatipura.	Do. ..	11th Lane, Kamatipura.	P. C. No. 1095/D ..	Do.
Bazar Road, Kamatipura.	Do. ..	Bazar Rd., Kamatipura.	P. C. No. 602/D ..	Do.
Crawford Market ..	10th February 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 507/A ..	Do.
Front of Shapurji Bharucha Mill.	9th February 1929.	K. E. M. Hospital ..	S. I. Inamdar ..	Do.
Samuel Street ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2289/B ..	Do.
Pydhoni Section ..	8th February 1929.	Do. ..	Sgt. Littlewood ..	Do.
Dongri Section ..	10th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2781/D ..	Do.
Kalbadevi Road ..	9th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2821/B ..	Do.
Nagdevi Street ..	10th February 1929.	Nagdevi Street ..	P. C. No. 2763/B ..	Do.
Chanlwadi, DeLisle Road.	Do. ..	Chanlwadi, DeLisle Road.	P. C. No. 1500/D ..	Do.
Samuel Street ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2289/B ..	11th February 1929.
Jinjekar Street ..	Do. ..	Jinjekar Street ..	P. C. No. 2763/B ..	Do.
Grant Road Play House.	11th February 1929.	Grant Road Play House.	Inspector Lloyd ..	Do.
Mastan Tank Cross Lane.	10th February 1929.	Mastan Tank Cross Lane.	P. C. No. 3053/D ..	Do.
Fanaswadi ..	Do. ..	G. T. Hospital ..	Dr. Nunan ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	....	Do.
Do. ..	11th February 1929.	Do. ..	Dr. Nunan ..	Do.
Nagpada Section ..	9th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 1437/D ..	Do.
Maharbouri Section ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2154/C ..	Do.
Dongri Section ..	10th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 2161/B ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	P. C. No. 1541/B ..	Do.
Mumbadevi Tank Rd., Sk. Memon Street.	11th February 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2231/B ..	12th February 1929.

APPENDIX

Serial No.	Name.	Residence if any.	Caste.	Age.
1	2	3	4	5
133	Syed Akbar	....	Pathan ..	25
134	Mahbub Shah Khan Waris Khan ..	....	Do. ..	20
135	Ali Sher Tuti Khan	....	Do. ..	35
136	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	28
137	Unknown	....	Do. ..	29
138	Govinda	....	Hindu ..	35
139	Gulbaz Khan Ghazi Khan ..	....	Pathan ..	30
140	Unknown	....	Muhammadan ..	32
141	Unknown	....	Do. ..	35
142	Narayan Shivram	....	Hindu ..	50
143	Ibrahim Ahmed	....	Muhammadan ..	26
144	Dhondiya Punia	....	Hindu ..	35
145	Ladooram Babooram	....	Do. ..	35
146	Keshao Hirba	....	Do. ..	25
147	Chunilal Chhotalal Patel	....	Do. ..	40
148	Gul Mahomed Abrash Khan ..	....	Pathan ..	26
149	Ghanesham Hira Lal	....	Hindu ..	20

C—*concld.*

Locality where injured. 6	Date of death. 7	Place of death. 8	By whom brought in. 9	Date of inquest. 10
Tardeo	11th February 1929.	Tardeo ..	Sgt. Scott ..	12th February 1929.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Nair Hospital ..	.... ..	Do.
Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	.... ..	Do.
Sayani Road ..	Do. ..	Sayani Road ..	P. C. No. 2716/F ..	Do.
Arthur Road ..	12th February 1929.	K. E. M. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2463/E ..	Do.
Pydhoni Section ..	11th February 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2821/B ..	Do.
Clerk Road ..	13th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 1546/D ..	13th February 1929.
Sun Mill Lane ..	12th February 1929.	K. E. M. Hospital ..	Sgt. Raymond ..	Do.
Naska Talao ..	13th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 239/E ..	14th February 1929.
Sandhurst Road ..	14th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 1652/B ..	15th February 1929.
Memon Mohalla ..	16th February 1929.	Do. ..	Dongri Section ..	17th February 1929.
Khadak ..	15th February 1929.	Do. ..	P. C. No. 276/B ..	Do.
Kalbadevi Road ..	17th February 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	.... ..	18th February 1929.
Bhendi Bazar Road ..	25th February 1929.	J. J. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 276/B ..	26th February 1929.
Kasai Mohalla, Nagdevi Street.	27th February 1929.	Bhajekar Hospital ..	.... ..	28th February 1929.
Arthur Road Bridge ..	28th February 1929.	Islampura ..	P. C. No. 2494/E ..	1st March 1929.
Parel Road ..	9th March 1929.	G. T. Hospital ..	P. C. No. 2487/B ..	10th March 1929.

APPENDIX D

Statement showing the total number of Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi and Christian shops looted during the recent riots with the total amount of property alleged to have been stolen

		Rs.	a.	p.
Muhammadan shops	34	4,21,420	4	0
Hindu ,, ...	24	40,812	8	8
Parsi ,, ...	2	553	14	0
Christian shop	1	145	0	0
Grand total ..	61	4,62,931	10	8

Location of the above shops

20 shops in the Princess Street Police Station.
4 ,, Maharbouri ,,
15 ,, Dongri ,,
11 ,, Nagpada ,,
9 ,, Pydhoni ,,
1 shop in the Agripada ,,
1 ,, Lamington Road ,,

61 shops.

APPENDIX E

Statement showing number of shops looted during the recent riots, with localities, dates and the nationality of the owner, and amount alleged to be stolen

Serial No.	Religion of the owner.	Locality.	Date.	Amount stolen.
		PRINCESS STREET POLICE STATION		Rs.
1	Muhammadan ..	Kalbadevi Road	9th February 1929	60,000
2	Do. ..	Khara Kuwa	Do. ..	12,952
3	Do. ..	Bhuleshwar Road	Do. ..	18,184
4	Do. ..	Kalbadevi Road	Do. ..	60,000
5	Do. ..	Shaikh Memon Street	Do. ..	2,843
6	Do. ..	Vithalwadi	Do. ..	70,000
7	Do. ..	Mumbadevi Tank Road ..	Do. ..	6,690
8	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	1,300
9	Do. ..	Shaikh Memon Street	Do. ..	18,403
10	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	3,028
11	Do. ..	Princess Street	Do. ..	28,545
12	Do. ..	Dady Seth Agiary Lane ..	Do. ..	779
13	Do. ..	Cathedral Street	Do. ..	1,055
14	Do. ..	Thakurdwar Road	Do. ..	612
15	Do. ..	Shaikh Memon Street	Do. ..	14,185
16	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	26,847
17	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	2,309
18	Do. ..	Mumbadevi Tank Road ..	Do. ..	26,172
19	Do. ..	Kalbadevi Road	Do. ..	11,722
20	Do. ..	Vithalwadi	8th February 1929.	200

APPENDIX E—*contd.*

Serial No.	Religion of the owner.	Locality.	Date.	Amount stolen.
		MAHARBOURI POLICE STATION		Rs. a.
1	Muhammadan ..	Bhuleshwar Road ..	9th February 1929 ..	8,000 0
2	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	1,740 4
3	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	31,532 0
4	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	234 0
		DONGRI POLICE STATION		
1	Hindu ..	Bhendi Bazaar Road ..	Between 12th February 1929 and 13th February 1929.	3,430 0
2	Muhammadan ..	Tantanpura Road ..	Between 6th February 1929 and 8th February 1929.	5,262 0
3	Hindu ..	Old Chinch Bunder Road ..	Between 7th February 1929 and 13th February 1929.	3,395 0
4	Do. ..	Bhendi Bazaar Road ..	Between 6th February 1929 and 12th February 1929.	14,448 0
5	Do. ..	Tantanpura Road ..	Between 9th February 1929 and 11th February 1929.	11 8
6	Do. ..	Dongri Street	Between 7th February 1929 and 14th February 1929.	500 0
7	Muhammadan ..	Do. ..	Between 5th February 1929 and 6th February 1929.	800 0
8	Christian ..	Sandhurst Road	Between 8th February 1929 and 9th February 1929.	145 0
9	Irani ..	Bhendi Bazaar Road ..	Between 6th February 1929 and 7th February 1929.	100 0
10	Hindu ..	Memonwada Road ..	Between 8th February 1929 and 9th February 1929.	1,225 0
11	Do. (Temple) ..	1st Chinch Bunder Road ..	5th February 1929 ..	494 0
12	Do. (do.) ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	320 0
13	Do. (do.) ..	Jail Road, East ..	Do. ..	250 0
14	Hindu ..	1st Chinch Bunder Road ..	Between 7th February 1929 and 12th February 1929.	1,903 12
15	Do. ..	Do. ..	6th February 1929 ..	850 0

APPENDIX E—*concld.*

Serial No.	Religion of the owner.	Locality.	Date.	Amount stolen.
		NAGPADA POLICE STATION		Rs. a. p.
1	Hindu ..	8th Lane, Kamatipura ..	7th February 1929 ..	75 0 0
2	Do. ..	7th Lane, Kamatipura ..	Do. ..	100 0 0
3	Do. ..	5th Lane, Kamatipura ..	Do. ..	65 0 0
4	Do. ..	8th Lane, Kamatipura ..	9th February 1929 ..	80 0 0
5	Do. ..	5th Lane, Kamatipura ..	Do. ..	110 0 0
6	Muhammadan ..	7th Lane, Kamatipura ..	8th February 1929 ..	300 0 0
7	Do. ..	6th Lane, Kamatipura ..	Do. ..	277 8 0
8	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	400 0 0
9	Hindu (Temple) ..	Bellassis Road ..	6th February 1929 ..	2,000 0 0
10	Hindu ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	300 0 0
11	Do. ..	Junction of Bellassis Road with Victoria Gardens Road.	Do. ..	10 0 0
		PYDHONI POLICE STATION		
1	Hindu ..	Musjid Bunder Road ..	8th February 1929 ..	85 0 0
2	Muhammadan ..	Bhajipala Lane ..	Between 8th February 1929 and 11th February 1929.	133 0 0
3	Do. ..	Narayen Dhuru Street	Between 8th February 1929 and 11th February 1929.	242 8 0
4	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	598 0 0
5	Hindu	Nagdevi Street ..	9th February 1929 ..	630 4 8
6	Do.	Bhajipala Lane ..	Between 8th February 1929 and 10th February 1929.	98 0 0
7	Do. ..	Pydhoni Road ..	Between 6th February 1929 and 12th February 1929.	432 0 0
8	Do.	Bhajipala Lane ..	9th February 1929 ..	10,000 0 0
9	Irani ..	Junction of Pydhoni Road with Sydenham Road.	Do. ..	453 14 0
		AGRIPADA POLICE STATION		
1	Muhammadan ..	Clerk Road	9th February 1929 ..	2,750 0 0
		LAMINGTON ROAD POLICE STATION		
1	Muhammadan ..	Girgaum Back Road ..	9th February 1929 ..	3,235 0 0

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX

Statement showing

Division.	Police Station.	No. of cases registered.	No. of cases sent up.	No. of cases convicted.	No. of cases pending in Court.	No. of cases acquitted.	Persons shown in column 5.			
							Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Pathans.	Others.
A	Paltan Road ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
B	Princess Street ..	29	12	1*	14	..	2	..	..	..
	Pydhoni ..	30	1	1	..	..	3	..	..	..
	Dongri ..	34	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
C	Lamington Road ..	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	Maharbouri ..	19	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	..
D	Byculla ..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Nagpada ..	34	11	3	8	..	..	2	13	..
	Agripada ..	7	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
E	Bhoiwada ..	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	Kingsway ..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
F	DeLisle Road ..	19	0	..	5	1	..	..	..	..
	Mahim ..	3	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
		196	49	6	42	1	5	2	14	..

F

Progress of riot cases.

Persons shown in column 6.				Persons shown in column 7.				Persons under arrest in cases still under investigation.				Remarks.
Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Pathans.	Others.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Pathans.	Others.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Pathans.	Others.	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
91	5	8	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	*Some accused in this case not yet disposed of.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	
..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	4	24	..	..	
..	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
..	8	9	..	..	..	..	..	48	13	..	..	
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	
1	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	11	4	..	
14	5	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25 sweepers.
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 accused convicted in 2 cases.
38	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..		
9	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	
159	70	22	26	3	..	..	..	70	85	4	..	

APPENDIX G

Statement showing the number of rounds fired by the Military and Police

Rounds fired by Military

Date.	Locality.	Number of rounds fired.
6th February 1929 ..	Bhendi Bazaar	8
6th February 1929 ..	Bhendi Bazaar	11
7th February 1929 ..	Two Tanks	16
7th February 1929 ..	Dongri Street	7
8th February 1929 ..	Abdul Rehman Street	3
8th February 1929 ..	J. J. Hospital	1
8th February 1929 ..	Nagdevi Street	15
9th February 1929 ..	Kamatipura	7
9th February 1929 ..	Nakhoda Street	18
9th February 1929 ..	Kalbadevi Road	22
9th February 1929 ..	Abdul Rehman Street	7
	Total ..	115
	Rounds fired by Police.	
6th February 1929 ..	Piru Havaldar Lane	4 Rifle.
7th February 1929 ..	Dongri maidan	11 „
8th February 1929 ..	Abdul Rehman Street	11 Revolver.
8th February 1929 ..	8th lane, Kamatipura	4 „
8th February 1929 ..	Bapti Road (1st lane, Kamatipura) ..	2 „
9th February 1929 ..	5th lane, Kamatipura	1 „
9th February 1929 ..	6th lane, Kamatipura	2 „
9th February 1929 ..	Junction of Sukhlaji Street and Foras Road.	9 „
9th February 1929 ..	Suklaji Street	5 „
9th February 1929 ..	Kamatipura	4 „
	Total ..	53

P. A. KELLY,
Commissioner of Police.

APPENDIX H

Military Pickets and Patrols

Whenever a military picket was established in any given locality, it was invariably one platoon strong (25 men). To each military picket were attached two magistrates and a police officer, not below the rank of Sergeant and also 2 motor lorries. As circumstances demanded, half the picket was sent out, accompanied by a magistrate and the police officer, either on general patrol, or to deal with a particular incident reported, the rest of the platoon remaining at the picket base with the second magistrate.

Note.—On the night of the 5th February, there were four military pickets stationed in the north of the island, only half a platoon strong, but as it was not advisable to split up so small a number of men into two parties, (*i*) for patrol purposes, (*ii*) for guarding the picket base, these pickets were subsequently increased to the full complement of one platoon.

During the recess hours of the mills, the Bombay Light Horse frequently patrolled in the affected areas in the north of the island.

Light motor patrols, and armoured cars also operated from a base at the Head Police Office, particularly during the night hours when the curfew order was in force.

APPENDIX I

Raids

As mentioned in the main body of the report, raids were carried out in the following affected areas :—

A. An area bounded by Abdul Rehman Street, Carnac Road, Nagdevi Street and Bhajipalla Lane.

B. An area bounded by Duncan Road, Grant Road, Northbrook Street and Sandhurst Road.

In each raid, the same plan of operations was adopted. The area to be combed out was surrounded by the military at a given signal, and no one was allowed thereafter to pass the cordon either way. The police then entered the cordon, and were able, after discrimination, to arrest all suspicious characters found therein. In raid A, Indian Infantry were employed; in raid B, the Bombay Light Horse assisted by some Indian Infantry provided the cordon.

APPENDIX J

Prisoners' Camp at Worli

Owing to the large number of arrests, it was naturally impossible to accommodate all the prisoners in the Police Station lock-ups. Arrangements were therefore made to take over from the Development Department 3 chawls at Worli. The Military Works fitted up a barbed wire entanglement round the chawls, and the camp was run as a General Police Lock-up. Until it was later taken over by the Jail Department, a Police Inspector and Sub-Inspector, together with a strong Armed Police guard, and men to look after the wants of the prisoners, were posted at the camp. Blankets were provided for the prisoners; their food was cooked by the Jail Department, and a Medical Officer supplied by the military was in attendance. The largest number of prisoners incarcerated on any particular day was 683.

In order to obviate the difficulty of a large number of prisoners being marched from the camp to a court for remand purposes, the Chief Presidency Magistrate either attended in person or deputed another Presidency Magistrate to deal each day with remand cases.

APPENDIX K

Disarming of Rioters

Wherever and whenever possible rioters were deprived of weapons of offence both by the military and the police. Definite information is not available as to how many weapons were seized on each occasion, but the police have a collection of something over 1,700 lathis, and nearly 500 iron bars, and a few bayonets, axes, knives tied to sticks and sword sticks. Weapons seized by the military were not handed over to the police, and were for the most part burnt when they were of wood.

APPENDIX L

List of Armed Police detailed for duty on the 4th and 5th February 1929

	Deputy Inspector.	Subadar.	Jemadar.	Head constables and constables.	Total.	
4th February 1929						
"A" Division—						
Carnac Road Musafirkhana ..	..	..	..	20	20	By day and night.
"B" Division—						
Bhendi Bazaar	..	..	..	10	10	By day and night.
"D" Division—						
Jacob Circle	..	..	..	10	10	By day.
"E" Division—						
DeLisle Road Police Station .	..	..	..	30	30	By day 10 for night.
Lal Baug	..	..	..	10	10	By day.
Sewri	..	..	..	30	30	By day.
Sewri	..	..	..	20	20	By night.
Burmah Oil Co. ..	..	..	..	20	20	By day and night.
Total ..	..	..	..	150	150	
5th February 1929						
"A" Division—						
Carnac Road Musafirkhana ..	..	..	..	20	21	By day and night.
"B" Division—						
Wadi Bundet	..	..	..	15	15	By day and night.
Bhendi Bazaar	..	..	..	10	10	By day.
Bhendi Bazaar	..	..	..	10	10	By night.
"D" Division—						
Jacob Circle	..	..	..	10	10	By day and night.
Chinchpokli	..	..	..	10	10	By day and night.
"E" Division—						
DeLisle Road Police Station .	..	..	1	30	31	By day and night.
Bholwada Police Station ..	..	..	..	30	30	By day.
Sewri	..	..	..	30	30	By day.
Sewri	..	..	..	20	20	By night.
Burmah Oil Co. ..	..	..	..	20	20	By day.
Burmah Oil Co. ..	..	..	..	15	15	By night.
Pol Bawadi	*1	..	..	30	30	At about 9 a.m. riot started and these men were supplied to "E" Division.
Parel Road	..	..	..	40	40	
Opposite King Edward Memorial Hospital.	..	1	..	15	16	
Total ..	*1	1	2	305	308	

(In addition to the above, 100 recruits were turned out at mid-day on the 5th February 1929 to assist the Divisional Police in "E" Division.

*Deputy Inspector is on the strength of "L" Division.

APPENDIX M

Statement of unarmed Police employed in maintaining order in the City on the 4th and 5th February 1929

Division.	4th February 1929.				5th February 1929.		
	Police Station.	Officers.	Jemadars.	Head constables and constables.	Officers.	Jemadars.	Head constables and constables.
	Colaba ..	..	..	12	..	..	12
A	Esplanade ..	2	..	6	2	..	6
	Palton Road ..	..	1	56	..	1	56
	Princess Street ..	11	1	140	11	1	140
B	Pydhoni ..	6	1	110	7	1	109
	Dongri ..	7	1	107	7	1	108
C	Lamington Road ..	9	1	82	9	1	82
	Gamdevi ..	..	..	71	..	..	72
	Maharbauri ..	10	1	113	10	1	113
	Byculla ..	8	..	165	9	..	164
	Nagpada ..	8	..	124	8	..	124
	Agripada ..	6	..	130	6	..	130
E	Bholwada ..	4	..	65	8	..	145
	Kingsway ..	4	..	56	2	..	42
F	Mahim ..	4	1	95	4	1	95
	DeLisle Road ..	4	1	85	4	1	85
	T. Section ..	..	1	8	..	1	8
H and I	..	1	..	34	1	..	84
	Total ..	84	9	1,459	88	9	1,575

Total on 4th February 1929 .. 1,552. Total on 5th February 1929 .. 1,672.

APPENDIX N

Embodiment of Units of the Auxiliary Force Stationed in the Town of Bombay

No. 5071/2

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 9th February 1929.

NOTIFICATION

The Governor in Council is pleased to direct under the authority vested in him by section 18 (*b*) of the Auxiliary Force (India) Act, 1920 (XLIX of 1920), the embodiment of the following units or members of units of the Auxiliary Force (India) stationed in the Town and Island of Bombay within the military area of the Bombay Presidency Area to support or supplement His Majesty's regular forces in the said Town and Island of Bombay :—

Bombay Light Horse (A.F.I.);

Bombay Battalion (A.F.I.);

V (Bombay) Field Brigade, R.A. (A.F.I.);

No. 3 (Bombay) Company, R.A.S.C. (A.F.I.);

No. 3 (Bombay) Field Company, R.E. (A.F.I.);

and

Sufficient all ranks of the G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. Railway Regiments to guard their own Armouries.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

*The General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command,

*The General Officer Commanding, Bombay District,

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,

The Manager, Government Central Press (for publication in the *Bombay Government Gazette* Extraordinary).

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

* By letter.

APPENDIX N—*contd.*

No. 5071/2

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Bombay Castle, 16th February 1929.

NOTIFICATION

The Governor in Council is pleased to cancel with effect from the 17th February 1929, Government Notification No. 5071/2, dated the 9th February 1929, published at page 244 of the *Bombay Government Gazette* Extraordinary dated the 12th February 1929, embodying certain units or members of units of the Auxiliary Force (India) stationed in the Town and Island of Bombay within the military area of the Bombay Presidency Area to support or supplement His Majesty's Regular Forces in the said Town and Island of Bombay.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Copies forwarded to—

*The General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command,

*The General Officer Commanding, Bombay District,

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,

The Manager, Government Central Press (for publication in the *Bombay Government Gazette* Extraordinary),

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

* By letter.

APPENDIX O

Appreciation of services rendered during the disturbances in the City of Bombay

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL).

Resolution No. S. D. 404.

Bombay Castle, 28th February 1929.

RESOLUTION.—The Governor in Council is pleased to direct that the accompanying letters should be sent to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, and to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

2. The Governor in Council also desires to convey to Mr. P. A. Kelly, C.I.E., Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Commissioners of Police and the officers and men of the Bombay City Police his thanks for the service rendered by them during the recent disturbances in the City. He desires to place on record his high appreciation of the conduct of the Bombay City Police under circumstances of great difficulty and of the energy, tact and discretion shown in meeting an emergency of great danger. He desires further to express his thanks to Mr. Kelly for the efficiency of the police force under his command and for the measures taken by him to deal with the disturbances.

3. The Governor in Council also desires to convey his thanks to Captain W. Nunan, M.D., J.P., District Superintendent of the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, Mr. D. F. Panthaki, M.B.E., Superintendent, and the members of the Parsi Division of the Brigade, and to those members of the Cosmopolitan and Jewish Divisions who were on duty, for the very valuable work in helping the injured which was done by them during the disturbances, and for the courage and skill with which the task was accomplished.

By order of the Governor in Council

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command,

The General Officer Commanding, Bombay District,

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,

The Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay,

The Chairman, St. John Ambulance Association (Bombay City Centre), Bombay,

The District Superintendent, St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas, Bombay,

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor,

The Director of Information, Bombay (for the issue of a communique),

The Manager, Government Central Press (for publication in the *Bombay Government Gazette*).

APPENDIX O—*contd.*

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL) No. S. D. 402

Bombay Castle, 28th February 1929

From

H. F. KNIGHT, Esq.,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay:

To

THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF,

Southern Command.

Sir,

I am desired to convey to you the thanks of the Governor in Council for the assistance rendered by the military authorities to the civil power during the disturbances in Bombay City from the 5th February to the 27th February 1929, and I am to request that these may be conveyed to Major-General G. A. Weir, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Commanding the Bombay District, to Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. M. Bannerman, D.S.O., and to the troops which served in Bombay during that period, namely, the Royal Artillery, the 2nd Battalion Warwickshire Regiment, the 1st Battalion the Cheshire Regiment, the 8th Armoured Car Company, the 3rd Battalion 9th Jat Regiment, the 3rd Battalion 19th Hyderabad Regiment, the Bombay Light Horse (A.F., I.), the V (Bombay) Field Brigade, Royal Artillery (A.F., I.), No. 3 (Bombay) Field Company, Royal Engineers (A.F., I.), No. 3 (Bombay) Company, R.A.S.C., (A.F., I.), the Bombay Battalion (A.F., I.), and those members of the G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. Railway Regiments (A.F., I.), embodied to guard their own armouries. The Governor in Council desires to acknowledge with gratitude the promptness with which all requests for assistance were met by the military authorities, the spirit in which a most irksome task was performed by all ranks, and the great tact and restraint exhibited under most difficult circumstances. In particular I am to express the thanks of the Governor in Council to Major-General Weir for his ready co-operation with the police authorities and his valuable advice and assistance in dealing with a situation fraught with the gravest danger to the welfare and prosperity of Bombay City.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department (Political).

APPENDIX O—*contd.*

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL) No. S. D. 403

Bombay Castle, 28th February 1929

From

H. F. KNIGHT, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

H. P. DASTUR, Esquire, LL.B., Bar.-at-Law,
Officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

Sir,

I am desired to convey to you the thanks of the Governor in Council for the very valuable services rendered by yourself as Chief Presidency Magistrate and by the Stipendiary and Honorary Presidency Magistrates during the recent disturbances in Bombay City, and to say that the Governor in Council greatly appreciates the energy, tact and discretion shown under circumstances of great difficulty and during very long periods of duty with the Police and Military.

2. I am to request that you will communicate the thanks of the Governor in Council to the Presidency Magistrates both Stipendiary and Honorary who were on duty during the emergency.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. F. KNIGHT,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

APPENDIX O—*contd.*

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL) No. S. D. 436

Bombay Castle, 4th March 1929

From

H. F. KNIGHT, Esquire,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

THE GENERAL MANAGER,

Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd.

Sir,

I am directed to convey to you the thanks of the Governor in Council for the good work done by the Tramway Service in Bombay during the recent disturbances, and to request that you will convey to the tram-car drivers and conductors of your Company the Governor in Council's appreciation of the gallant way in which under very difficult conditions the service was maintained whenever and wherever possible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department (Political).

APPENDIX O—*contd.*

ELECTRIC HOUSE.

6th March 1929.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,

Home Department (Political Department) Bombay.

Sir,

Disturbances in Bombay

We have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. S. D. 436 of the 4th instant, and to say that the expression of the thanks of His Excellency the Governor in Council for the good work done by the Tramway Service in Bombay during the recent disturbances is greatly appreciated. Your letter under reply will be published as a general order to the Traffic Staff.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

For the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Co., Ltd.,

C. N. MOBERLY,

General Manager.

APPENDIX P.

Worli Temporary Prison

No. 112 of 1929.

Temporary Prison :
Worli, 4th April 1929.

From

W. J. LAXTON, Esq.,
Superintendent,
Worli Temporary Prison,

To

THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS,
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a report on the Worli Temporary Prison. I held charge of this Institution from the afternoon of the 13th February 1929 till the closing of it on the 24th March 1929.

Introductory.—The two Bombay Prisons having become overcrowded with mill-strikers and rioters and this fact being brought by me to the notice of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, three Development chawls at Worli were taken into use on the 9th February 1929 as a Lock-up by the Police Authorities who were assisted by a Military Guard. This Lock-up was declared as Worli Temporary Prison, *vide* Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 5101/2, dated the 18th February 1929.

Jail Population.—When I took over charge of this Prison, the population was 683 Undertrials.

According to Police Records 780 persons were arrested for rioting as detailed below :—

Nagpada Police Station	.. .. ..	68
Dongri ,,	.. .. ..	33
Agripada ,,	.. .. ..	116
Bhoiwada ,,	.. .. ..	72
Paltan Road ,,	.. .. ..	14
Mahim ,,	.. .. ..	28
Maharbawdi ,,	.. .. ..	106
Phydhoni ,,	.. .. ..	164
Princess Street ,,	.. .. ..	142
DeLisle Road ,,	.. .. ..	37
	Total ..	780

The details of those released and otherwise dealt with cannot be stated by this office as the prisoners were being taken away periodically by the Police Authorities and their cases disposed of at the various Police Stations.

Race, Religion, etc.—Of the total number of prisoners arrested 498 were Hindus and the remaining 282 were Muhammadans.

Occupation.—Details cannot be given but the majority were mill-hands and some were hawkers, riffraffs and habitual criminals.

Juveniles.—Those prisoners below 16 years of age were sent direct to the Children's Home, Bombay, hence the number of arrests cannot be stated.

Discipline.—The chawls were surrounded by barbed and electric wires which helped considerably in preventing escapes. The erection of the Electric Installation was originally undertaken by the Military Authorities and later handed over to the Bombay Electric Supply Co., the Electric Lighting of the chawls being under the supervision of the Executive Electrical Engineer, Public Works Department. The cost of these two items is not yet known to this office.

The perimeter was guarded by an armed Police Force consisting of 1 Jemadar, 2 Head Constables, and 24 Constables, and 55 Police Recruits were on duty inside the chawls before the Jail Staff arrived on the 18th February 1929.

A Jail Staff consisting of a Jailor (Mr. M. G. Joshi), 4 Head Warders and 24 Warders arrived here on the 18th February 1929 from the undermentioned Prisons:—

	Head warders.	Warders.
Thana District Prison	1	4
Yeravda Central Prison	1	4
Nasik Road „	1	4
Ahmedabad „	1	4
Arthur Road Prison	..	4
H. M.'s House of Correction	..	4
Total ..	4 and	24

In addition to the above staff eleven temporary warders were engaged locally from the 19th February to the 28th February 1929, inclusive, when their services were dispensed with owing to a reduced jail population.

It may be mentioned that the Police Authorities had nothing to do with the internal management of this Prison after the arrival of the Jail staff.

The services of one warder from the Arthur Road Prison were dispensed with for gross negligence of duty and insolence to the Jailor. Two warders were fined for sleeping while on patrol duty and for telling deliberate lies during the investigation. One warder was permitted to resign as the duties here were too irksome for him.

Barfetters and hand-cuffs were imposed on one prisoner for throwing a tinpot at a jail warder and thereby causing a slight injury on the forehead.

A police staff consisting of one Sub-Inspector (Mr. Koreshi), one writer and three constables remained here throughout the existence of this Prison in order to facilitate Police enquiries. A Telephone connection was installed by the Police Department, which helped them considerably in this matter.

As the Prison population decreased so the number of jail warders were reduced and sent back to their respective Prisons as shown below :—

	Head Warders.	Warders.
On the 9th March 1929		
Nasik Road Central Prison	1	4
Ahmedabad Central Prison	1	4
On the 16th March 1929		
Yeravda Central Prison	1	4
On the 24th March 1929		
Thana District Prison	1	4
Arthur Road Prison	..	3
H. M.'s House of Correction	..	3
Total ..	4 and	22

Health and Sanitation.—Messrs. P. F. Pandya, I.M.D., and M. V. Khore, S.M.S. Officer, were in Medical charge, the former from the 13th to the 26th ultimo and the latter from the 19th ultimo till the afternoon of the 16th instant.

The supply of medicines was adequate and the Medical arrangements and Hospital accommodation all that could be desired.

As a result of the riots more than 18 per cent. of the prisoners were suffering from minor wounds and there were several cases of scabies, ringworm and malaria. The Medical Officer's report which is attached hereto gives full details.

The Development Department rendered valuable assistance in the sanitation water supply and provided the necessary sweepers.

The rooms occupied by the prisoners, the bathing platforms and the latrines were disinfected daily with phenyle. The prisoners were provided with soap and made to have a daily bath and their clothes washed regularly once a week. Their blankets were sunned for no less than four hours daily. Every attention was given to the prisoners having regular exercise.

The cost of Medicines, Hospital comforts and sanitation is shown separately.

The Secretary and Under Secretary to Government, Home Department, visited the Prison on a couple of occasions and expressed their satisfaction of the cleanliness of the Prison and prisoners.

Diet and Feeding arrangements.—Before the Jail Department took over charge of the Prison, the Military authorities were supplying the raw rations which consisted of wheatflour, rice and dhall according to the Military scale, exclusive of green vegetables of which none were being issued. Moreover, the contractors who were cooking the food were charging annas four per head daily and were not supplying the meals at regular hours.

A sum of Rs. 107 (one hundred and seven only) was handed over to the Inspector of Police on the 13th and 14th ultimo to cover the expenses of food purchased from the bazar on account of the contractors having failed to cook an adequate quantity of food on those days.

Every endeavour was then made by me to get the present Bombay Jails Contractor to supply rations to this Prison but owing to the riots neither he nor his servants would leave their houses, hence Messrs. Nussarwanji & Co., former Jail Contractors, were approached and they undertook the contract under great difficulties and commenced supplies on the 15th ultimo, according to Jail Scale—VI Rule 799 (c), B. J. M., except that the prisoners were being fed on wheat and rice in lieu of Jowari and Bajri.

High caste Hindu prisoners who objected to accepting cooked food were provided with raw rations and aluminium utensils.

The rate of rations accepted was annas seven per prisoner daily and amounted to Rs. 2,620-10-0 up to the end of February.

The hire of large cooking utensils and aluminium pots amounted to Rs. 172-8-0.

From 1st to 14th instant 9,408 pounds of wheat-flour taken over from the Military Authorities was issued to all prisoners confined in the two Bombay Jails and this Prison as there was a daily reduction of prisoners at Worli and every possible chance of the flour going bad. Messrs. Nussarwanji & Co. continued to supply the necessary condiments, oil, vegetables and firewood to the prisoners confined at Worli at the current contract rates of the Arthur Road Prison. From the 1st instant and till closing of this Prison Messrs. Nussarwanji & Co. were paid annas four and pies three only per prisoner daily.

Coolies were entertained for the distribution of food to the prisoners and were paid Re. 1 each daily. The total amount spent on this item is shown in the Financial statement. Tinpots for drinking water were issued to every prisoner and these procured for the sum of Rs. 218-12-0.

The cooking of the food was undertaken by the Arthur Road Prison and a motor lorry kindly lent by the Commissioner of Police was issued twice daily to bring the food from there to this Prison.

Clothing and Bedding.—No clothes were provided, all the inmates of this Prison being Undertrials. Five hundred and fifty blankets were provided by the Police Department* and two hundred by the Yeravda Central Prison.

Financial.—The expenditure under the several Heads is as follows:—

Establishment—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pay and allowances	2,525	3	0
† Travelling allowances	....		
† Sweepers	....		
Coolies (food distribution)	121	0	0

Rations—

Cost of feeding prisoners	3,084	3	0
Miscellaneous Dietary charges ..	351	6	6
Hire of large cooking utensils and aluminium pots ..	172	8	0

* The cost is subsequently debited to the 25, Jails and Convict Settlements as per Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 5269/2, dated 28th March 1929.

† This amount will be communicated as soon as it is received.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Hospital—			
Medicines for Hospitals	73	3	6
Extras for Hospital patients	74	0	0
Hospital miscellaneous articles	11	14	0
Hospital Dead Stock	....		
Sanitation Charges—			
Phenyle, Bar Soap, etc.	90	12	0

The expenditure is exclusive of any bills that might be submitted by the Police Department, the Development Department and the Executive Electrical Engineer, Public Works Department. In the event of any of these Departments submitting bills, entries will be made in the office copy of this report and the same forwarded to Head Office for necessary entry in the original report and further disposal. For this purpose all Records of this Prison will be kept in the Office of the Superintendent, Arthur Road Prison, and Mr. Dastur, the Civil Clerk, will be there to help the Superintendent in this work.

Visitors.—His Excellency the Governor of Bombay visited on the evening of the 13th February.

The Home Secretary visited on the evening of the 16th February and on the morning of the 4th March.

The Under Secretary to Government visited on the morning of the 3rd March.

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, visited on the evening of the 16th February.

Lt-Col. H. F. Burfoot, Salvation Army, visited on the morning of the 20th March.

The Staff.—I would bring to notice the good work of the following :—

Mr. M. G. Joshi, Jailor, performed his duties to my entire satisfaction. He is intelligent and takes a very keen interest in his work. He should do well in the Department.

Mr. M. V. Khore, S.M.S. Officer, worked very hard and it was mainly due to the keen interest he took in the Medical comforts of the prisoners and the general sanitary arrangements of the Prison that there was no cause for adverse comments on the part of Visitors.

Mr. S. D. Dastur, Clerk, who is a quiet and steady worker performed his duties to my entire satisfaction.

Warder Staff.—On the whole this staff worked quite satisfactorily with the exception of two warders who had to be dealt with for negligence of duties.

Police Department.—The Sub-Inspector, Mr. Koreshi, helped us considerably in the matter of selecting the prisoners required by the various Police Stations throughout the existence of this Prison and worked amicably with the Jail Staff.

Lastly, I would mention that Mr. Leyden, Officiating Superintendent, Arthur Road Prison, rendered me great assistance in the cooking of the food for the prisoners and that it was mainly due to the keen interest he took in this matter that the food was distributed to the prisoners at regular hours.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) W. LAXTON,
Superintendent,
Worli Temporary Prison.

No. 4679 of 1929

Inspector General of Prisons' Office :
Poona, 11th April 1929.

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy with copies of accompaniments forwarded with compliments for information.

(Signed) E. E. DOYLE,
Major, I.M.S.,
Officiating Inspector General of Prisons,
Bombay Presidency.

Temporary Prison, Worli:
Bombay, 4th April 1929.

From

Mr. MURAR RAO KHORE,
S. M. S. Officer,
Medical Officer, Temporary Prison,
Worli, Bombay;

To

THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS,
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit Medical Report on the Temporary Prison, Worli (Bombay). I held charge as Medical Officer from 19th February to 26th March 1929.

Population.—The total number of prisoners arrested was 780. When I took over charge of the Prison the population was 557.

Accommodation.—Three chawls of the Development were brought into use for the Temporary Prison.

Each chawl contained 80 rooms with four floors (each floor having 10 rooms on each side).

Hospital Accommodation.—The Hospital accommodation consisted of 12 rooms with cots and necessary bedding. The average number of sick in Hospital was 6 per day.

Out-door treatment was given for minor ailments twice a day. The average number of outpatients were per day.

Character of diseases treated were as follows :—

Names of diseases	Numbers
Scabies	250
Ringworm	50
Wounds	120
Malaria	105
Diarrhœa	40
Chronic Bronchitis	60

Indoor patients were admitted for the following diseases :—

Names of diseases	Number
Scabies (Bad cases)	10
Diarrhœa	4
Syphilis	3
Malaria	3
Asthma	3
Dysentery	2
Anæmia	2
Orchitis (Gonorrhœa)	1
Venereal Sore	1

Out of these patients, three were sent to J. J. and G. T. Hospitals for treatment as they required proper nursing which could not be done here.

Names of diseases	Number
Dysentery	1
Anæmia	1
Asthma	1
Total ..	3

There was no outbreak of any Epidemic or infectious disease in the Temporary Prison, Worli.

SANITATION

Ventilation.—All the windows were kept open with a view to providing sufficient ventilation.

The surroundings were satisfactory.

Drainage.—The drains are connected with the Municipal sewers and were regularly attended to.

Conservancy.—Sufficient number of sweepers were employed with the help of the Development.

THE LATRINES

The Latrines.—The latrines are provided with water flushes and connected to the Municipal sewers. They were thoroughly cleaned and disinfected with phenile daily.

Total latrine seats 72, each floor having six seats of latrines.

Cleanliness.—Each floor had one bath-room and bathing was enforced daily.

Exercise was compulsory each morning and evening.

Clothing and Bedding.—New blankets were issued to all prisoners. Clothing was sufficient for them. Prisoners washed their clothes with soap which was supplied to each one of them once a week and oftener if necessary. Bedding (Blankets) was placed out in the sun daily.

Water Supply.—Water was received direct from water taps from the Municipal mains. It was sufficient and of good quality.

Diet as regards quality and quantity.—Diet was good and sufficient. All prisoners were given rice and wheat diet till 28th of February 1929. From 1st March till closing of the jail, they were given wheat diet. Some Hindoo prisoners objected to jail cooked food and consequently they were given dry rations with cooking pots till 28th of February.

All the prisoners were allowed tea at their own expense and Home food was also examined and allowed, in a few cases.

Medicines and Surgical appliances.—These were supplied by the Superintendent, Goculdas Tejpal Hospital, Bombay. Other equipments including Hospital cots and bedding were supplied from the Arthur Road Prison and H. M.'s House of Corrections.

The unexpended drugs and Surgical instruments were returned to the Superintendent, Goculdas Tejpal Hospital, Bombay.

Health of Prisoners.—(Under Trial.) In the beginning the health of prisoners was indifferent, but later on with improvements in the arrangements and better Medical attendance, their health gradually improved, so much so, that the average number of sick was considerably reduced.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) MURAR RAO KHORE, S. M. S.,
Medical Officer,
Worli Temporary Prison, Bombay.

List of Bandage Cloth expended at Worli Dispensary up to 26th March 1929

	Rs.	a.	p.
Bandage Cloth, 20 yards at 0-3-6 per yard	4	6	0
Malmal, 6 yards at 0-2-6 per yard	0	15	0
Total ...	5	5	0

(Signed) .....

Major,
Resident Medical Officer,
G. T. Hospital, Bombay.

List of Medicines and dressings expended at Worli Dispensary up to 26th March 1929

		Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Glycerine, 1 lb. with bottle	1	6	0
2.	Mag. Sulph. 10 lbs. with tin	1	0	0
3.	Ol. Recini. 2 lbs. with bottle	1	4	0
4.	Pot. Permanganate, 1 oz.	0	1	0
5.	Quinine Sulph. 2 lbs.	40	0	0
6.	Spt. Methyalatus, 8 ozs.	0	1	6
7.	Tr. Iodine, 8 ozs. with bottle	0	14	0
8.	Ungt. Sulphuris, 4 lbs. with tin	1	8	0
9.	Trypaflavine, ½ oz. with bottle	4	8	0
10.	Lint, 1 lb. packets, 3 packets	6	12	0
11.	Wool Cotton Absorbent, 7 lbs.	10	8	0
	Total ..	67	14	6

(Signed) .....

Major,
Resident Medical Officer,
G. T. Hospital, Bombay.

APPENDIX Q

Correspondence with the Central Executive (Peace) Committee

Below copies of—

(1) Letter from Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, F.R.C.S., M.D., Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, Bombay, dated the 8th February 1929, to the address of the Hor ourable Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, Home Member.

(2) Government letter No. S. D. 253, dated the 9th February 1929, to Dr. Deshmukh.

No. S. D. 255

Home Department,
Bombay Castle, 10th February 1929.

Copies forwarded with compliments to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, with special reference to the last paragraph of Government letter No. S. D. 253, dated the 9th February 1929, addressed to Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.

By order of the Governor in Council,

(Signed) C. F. BORGES,
Acting Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Bombay, 8th February 1929.

To

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. E. B. HOTSON, C.S.I.,
Home Member, Secretariat.

Sir,

I have the honour by desire of the Central Executive Committee appointed by the Public Meeting held yesterday at the Municipal Corporation Hall to organise methods for the restoration of peace in the City and to do propaganda work to request that Government will be so good as to take into consideration the desirability of adopting the following measures for mitigating the present disturbances in the City :—

(1) That all the liquor shops in the City should be temporarily closed till the present disturbances are over.

(2) Carrying of lathis and all sorts of dangerous weapons should be prohibited.

(3) Patrolling by the Military and Police in batches of 10 to 15 should be done in the side streets and by-lanes in the affected area.

(4) Action under Chapter VIII should be taken against the mowalis with a view to shutting them up peremptorily.

(5) Batakis should be beaten at the junctions of all the roads in the City informing people that the present apprehensions regarding kidnapping of children is utterly false.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. V. DESHMUKH,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee.

No. S. D. 253

Home Department.
Bombay Castle, 9th February 1929.

From

H. F. KNIGHT, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department ;

To

Dr. G. V. DESHMUKH, F.R.C.S., M.D.,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee,
Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 8th February 1929, communicating the suggestions of the Central Executive Committee for restoration of peace in the City, I am directed by the Governor in Council to thank you and the members of the Central Executive Committee for the asistance which you are affording to put an end to the present state of affairs in Bombay City, and to state that any suggestions that the Committee will make will receive the most careful attention of Government.

2. With regard to the five specific suggestions made in your letter under reference, I am directed to state as follows :—

(1) Orders have been issued to close all liquor shops throughout the City. I am at the same time to point out that Government learnt on careful enquiry that the liquor shops had not been more frequented than usual during the last few days. nor has drunkenness or any excitement in their neighbourhood been observed. However, lest trouble due to liquor shops should arise, Government have, as stated above, decided to close them up.

(2) It is reported that, in consequence of the disturbed conditions, many perfectly respectable persons are carrying sticks for self-protection, which gives them sufficient confidence to go about their lawful affairs. A general order prohibiting the carrying of sticks and lathis would, therefore, probably result in still further reducing the business which is being done in the City, while it would make little difference to the rougher element, since, from the beginning of the rioting, the police, whenever they have had an opportunity, have disarmed persons of bad character and bands of men found of going about armed with sticks or more lethal weapons such as lathis and iron bars.

(3) Patrolling of the City by the Military and the police is going on, and all the dangerous localities are frequently visited, but you will appreciate that it would not be expedient for Government to issue instructions as to the size of the patrols, which must naturally be left to the discretion of the military authorities and the police officers on the spot.

(4) Any persons found giving trouble in the city have been and are being promptly arrested by the police, whenever it is possible to catch them. What legal action should be taken against them will be considered in due course.

(5) The beating of *batakis* to declare that the kidnapping scare is false was considered some days ago on the suggestion of certain non-official gentlemen, but it is understood that the scheme was abandoned as being unlikely to be effectual. At that time the first batch of official handbills had already been issued and since then, thank to the efforts of your Committee and several public spirited gentlemen, other handbills of a pacifying nature in various languages have been distributed in tens of thousands throughout the city. It is of course true that many of the people most likely to be led astray by false rumours are unable to read, but it is understood that the contents of the handbills have been explained by those who can read to circles of their friends, so that it is doubtful if publication by beat of drum would reach any larger audience.

3. I am instructed to add that while this answer has been compiled from materials immediately at hand in order that it should not be delayed, further consideration will be given to each of your suggestions, and to any others which your Committee may desire to make, since conditions are constantly changing and action not thought necessary at one time may be found desirable at another. I am to instance the orders issued to-day by the Chief Presidency Magistrate prohibiting the assembly of more than five persons and the moving about by night of persons in a certain disturbed area.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department.

Bombay, 8th February 1929.

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour, by desire of the Central Executive Committee appointed by the Public meeting held yesterday at the Municipal Corporation Hall to organize methods for the restoration of peace in the City and to do propaganda work, to request that you will be so good as to take into consideration the desirability of adopting the following measures for mitigating the present disturbances in the City :—

(1) That all liquor shops in the City should be temporarily closed till the present disturbances are over.

(2) Carrying of lathis and all sorts of dangerous weapons should be prohibited.

(3) Patrolling by the Military and Police in batches of 10 to 15 should be done in the side streets and lanes in the affected areas.

(4) Action under Chapter VIII should be taken against the mowalis with a view to shutting them up peremptorily.

(5) Batakis should be beaten at the junctions of all the roads in the City informing people that the present apprehension regarding kidnapping of children is utterly false.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. V. DESHMUKH,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY

No. 1418/239 of 1929

From

THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF POLICE;

To

The CHAIRMAN,
Central Executive Committee,
Municipal Corporation Hall, Bombay.

Bombay, 8th February 1929.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 8th February 1929, I have the honour to inform you that—

(1) the desirability of closing all liquor shops in the City is being considered in consultation with the Commissioner of Excise.

(2) The Police already have instructions to operate section 113 of the Bombay City Police Act in cases where gangs of persons are found carrying sticks with the obvious intention of doing mischief.

(3) Patrol by Military and Police is now being done in the localities from which disorder is reported or is anticipated.

(4) Action under Chapter 8 of the Criminal Procedure Code is under consideration.

(5) I regret that we have no time for battakis to be beaten at the junctions of all roads in the City informing the people that the present apprehension regarding the kidnapping of children is false. I may say however that a Notification by Government has already been issued and a large number of leaflets have been published.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) H. S. NEEDHAM,
Deputy Commissioner of Police.

CORPORATION HALL :

Bombay, 9th February 1929.

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
Bombay.

Sir,

On behalf of the General Executive Committee I have to inform you that a Bombay Citizens' Volunteer Corps is being immediately organized, and I shall be glad if you will be good enough to communicate with this office directly in case you require any assistance of any sort from the Volunteers so enlisted. I need hardly assure you that every measure will be taken to co-operate with you and the Police Force to restore Peace in the City.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) * * *
Honorary Secretary,
Bombay Citizens' Volunteer Corps
of the Bombay Citizens' Peace Committee.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY.

No. 1443/239 of 1929

From

THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,
Bombay.

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,
Bombay Citizens' Volunteer Corps
of the Bombay Citizens' Peace Committee,
Corporation Hall, Bombay.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE :

Bombay, 10th February 1929.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 9th instant intimating the formation of a Bombay Citizens' Volunteer Corps and to thank you for your assurance that the Corps will co-operate with the police force in the restoration of peace in the city.

2. A few days ago I was approached by certain leading Hindu and Mahomedan citizens who had arranged to organize volunteers for the relief of Hindus and Mahomedans in distress. I agreed to recognize these volunteers and to render police assistance to them in their work of relief as far as the other duties of the police would permit. The Bombay Citizens' Volunteer Corps is presumably intended for the same sort of work and probably the volunteers in many cases will be members of both organizations. I would therefore suggest that your Committee would kindly get in touch with these other organizations and have them all merged in one as there can be no advantage in separate volunteer organizations carrying on the same work.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) H. S. NEEDHAM,
for Commissioner of Police.

Below—

(1) Copy of a letter from the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, dated 11th February 1929.

(2) Copy of a letter to the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, No. S.D. 308, dated 15th February 1929.

No. S.D.—309

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):
Bombay Castle, 15th February 1929.

Copies forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, for information, in continuation of this Department endorsement No. S.D. 255, dated the 10th February 1929.

By order of the Governor in Council,

(Signed) C. F. BORGES,
Acting Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department (Political).

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION HALL:
Bombay, 11th February 1929.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,
Home Department.

Sir,

I have the honour, by desire of the Central Executive Committee appointed for restoration of peace in the city, to communicate to Government the following suggestions and to request that Government will be pleased to consider them with a view to putting an end to the present state of affairs in the City :—

(1) That Government should utilise the services of the Auxiliary Force including the Bombay Light Horse Force in the disturbed areas of the City.

(2) That influential gentlemen from various localities may be appointed as Special Constables for their particular localities.

(3) City Volunteers may be allowed to carry serviceable sticks or some other implement for their self-defence.

(4) That Government should provide sufficient protection to the City Volunteers whose services are to be utilized for the removal of the injured and also for the removal of families from distressed areas.

(5) The suspected rough element from outside the City should be prevented from coming into the City and proper precautions may be taken by Government for this purpose at an early date.

I am also desired to inform you that my Committee realises the difficulty of Government owing to insufficient force at their command and is therefore prepared to render to Government whatever help they are able to give in these turbulent times.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) G. V. DESHMUKH.

No. S.D.—308

HOME DEPARTMENT:
Bombay Castle, 15th February 1929.

From
H. F. KNIGHT, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To
Dr. G. V. DESHMUKH, F.R.C.S., M.D.,
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 11th February 1929, I am directed by the Governor in Council to say that—

(1) as you are doubtless aware, the Auxiliary Force (India) including the Bombay Light Horse was embodied on the night of the 9th February and has been on duty since;

(2) as regards special constables, I am to ask that your Committee will send to the Commissioner of Police the names of gentlemen who are willing to serve in that capacity;

(3) with reference to City Volunteers being allowed to carry serviceable sticks, etc., it is understood that your Committee has discussed this suggestion with the Commissioner of Police and recognised the obvious difficulties involved in this proposal;

(4) orders have been issued by the Commissioner of Police for the police to render assistance to the volunteers engaged in relief work, whenever their other duties permit;

(5) Government have no information that undesirable persons are coming into the City from outside, and few passengers appear to be arriving in the City by train. Should you have any definite information regarding an influx of bad characters, the Governor in Council would be glad to receive it.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) H. F. KNIGHT,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

True copies.
(Signed) K. S. PETIGARA,
Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch,
Bombay.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION HALL,
Bombay, 12th February 1929.

From

Dr. G. V. DESHMUKH, M.D. (London), F.R.C.S. (England),
Chairman, Central Executive Committee.

Dear Mr. Kelly,

With reference to the rough element who are detained at the Worli Chawls, my committee understand that after an investigation some of them are released. I am therefore desired to request that you will be so good as to inform me of the time when they are released so that some of the Volunteers will be present with some conveyance to remove these people back to their respective homes.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) G. V. DESHMUKH,

Chairman, Central Executive Committee.

D.O. No. 63, dated 12th February 1929.

Dear Mr. Deshmukh,

With reference to your letter of to-day asking me to let you know when prisoners are released from Worli, so that the Central Executive Committee may arrange to send some Volunteers with conveyance to remove them to their homes, may I know why the Committee consider it desirable to make these arrangements.

(Signed) P. A. KELLY.

12th February 1929.

Bombay, 12th February 1929.

Dear Mr. Kelly,

Your D.O. No. 63 of to-day's date.

The reason why my Committee considered it desirable to make the arrangement suggested in my letter was that all these acquitted people will have to go through the hostile area and that therefore the Committee thought that if they were to arrange for their conveyance they would be taken away safely. If however you do not approve of this suggestion the Committee do not wish to press for it.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) G. V. DESHMUKH,

Chairman, Bombay Citizens' Peace Committee.

D.O. No. 69, dated 13th February 1929.

Dear Dr. Deshmukh,

With reference to your letter of 12th regarding removal of discharged persons to their homes, I do not think that any special arrangements are at present necessary.

(Signed) P. A. KELLY

13th February 1929.

MG VC 3—6

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

The Police Report

on the

Bombay Riots of April-May 1929

[Price—Annas 2 *or* 3*d*.]

BOMBAY
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1930
Obtainable from the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Bombay; from the High Commissioner for India, 42 Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.1, London; or through any recognized Bookseller

THE POLICE REPORT OF THE BOMBAY DISTURBANCES APRIL AND MAY 1929

Origin of the riots

Since the communal riots of February 1929, although there was peace between the two main communities there still remained a certain amount of mistrust and suspicion especially among the lower orders. For instance, there was continual bickering among the Pathan watchmen on the one hand and the Sikh, Gurkha and Pardeshi watchmen on the other. However, nothing in the way of a clash between the communities took place until the 23rd April 1929 on which day the Hindus observed the "Hanuman Jayanti" (birthday of God Hanuman), when an unprovoked attack was made on a *palkhi* procession of Hindus on Suparibagh Road.

At about 11 p.m. on the 23rd April a *palkhi* procession came from the DeLisle Road Section *via* Elphinstone Road and turned south along Suparibagh Road. One head constable and two constables accompanied this procession past the Sai-ka-Takia mosque as far as the G. I. P. Railway workshops; here the police guard left this procession and joined another one coming from Lalwadi under the leadership of one Sitaram Pokhale. When about 300 yards south of the Sai-ka-Takia mosque the band accompanying the procession stopped music and the procession went along quietly. When it was about 75 yards south of the mosque the processionists were attacked by a number of Muhammadans who came out of the lane opposite the mosque. Stones and lathis were freely used by both sides. The police from the Bhoiwada Police Station on receipt of information, hurried to the scene, but on their arrival they found that the Muhammadans had dispersed while groups of Hindus in a very excited mood were standing about on the road. The *palkhi* was found lying on the road and the police were trying to induce the Hindus to continue their procession when information was received that a Muhammadan had been assaulted in front of Messrs. Turner Hoare & Co.'s show rooms further south on Suparibagh Road. The police went to the spot, and after telling the Hindus to make preparations to re-start the procession, found an upcountry Muhammadan lying unconscious near the tram track and bleeding from wounds on the head. He was removed to the King Edward Memorial Hospital where he succumbed to his injuries subsequently. When the police returned to where the *palkhi* was lying the Hindus complained that the silver idol valued at Rs. 150 which was in the *palkhi* was missing and they refused even to touch the *palkhi* which was ultimately taken charge of by the police. Adequate arrangements were made to prevent any further

trouble and quiet was restored. During this rioting the following persons received injuries for which they were treated in the King Edward Memorial Hospital :—

	Name		Residence	Injuries
1.	Bhika Sadha,	Hindu	.. Coombri Lane	.. Lathi blow on the head.
2.	Laxman Gunaji	do.	.. Do.	.. Contusion on hip and legs.
3.	Mahadeo Pandu	do.	.. Do.	.. Slight fracture of skull.
4.	Vishnu Keshav	do.	.. Lalwadi	.. Fracture of right foot.
5.	Laxman Sakharam	do.	.. Do.	.. Incised wound 2″ 5″ in lumbar region caused either by a spear or a bayonet. He died in hospital on admission.
6.	Budhia Bhagia	do.	.. Naigaum	.. Fracture of head—unconscious.
7.	Mansar Vishram	do.	.. Tram Inspector No. 3.	Slight injury to right cheek
8.	Ahmed Ibrahim, Muhamadan.		Poibavdi	.. Fracture of skull—died after admission.
9.	Mithoo Rahim, Muhammadan.		Kamatipura..	.. Slight injury.
10.	Gul Zaman, Muhammadan.		Pydhoni	.. Bleeding from nose.
11.	Abbas Abdul Rahman, Muhammadan.		Two Tanks	.. Contused wound on the nose.
12.	Unknown Muhammadan		.. ....	Found on the road south of G.I.P. Workshops—died subsequently.
13.	Unknown Muhammadan		.. ....	Head injuries—in a dangerous state.

At about 8-30 a.m. on the 24th April a Muhammadan named Amir Idoo residing at Madanpura was assaulted by some Hindus near the temple on Government House Gate Road, from where the previous night's procession had started. He received a slight injury on his face and several lathi blows on the body for which he was treated at the King Edward Memorial Hospital and allowed to go.

Things passed off peacefully on the 25th and the 26th April 1929. But on the night of the 27th idem one Yeshwant Balkrishna took out a *palkhi* procession from the Maruti temple situated in front of the Development Chawls at DeLisle Road to go towards Parbhadevi Road. The procession was accompanied by Indian drums and cymbals only. The Police had taken every precaution inasmuch as the Inspector in charge of the DeLisle Road Police Station had enquired from the Mutawali of the Musjid on DeLisle Road the time they were going to hold their prayers and had arranged for the *palkhi* procession to start much before the prayer time. Before the procession came near the musjid the beating of drums and cymbals was stopped, but the processionists continued shouting "Jai". This appears to have offended some of the Muhammadans who were standing on the opposite side of the road. They began to throw stones and soda-water bottles at the Hindus who were looking on at the procession though the procession itself had passed the musjid. The Hindus retaliated and began rushing towards their own chawls but some of the Muhammadans rushed out of a chawl near by and stabbed one Bala Bapoo in the chest. He died on the spot. One Shiva Appa was stabbed in the stomach and he was removed to the hospital. One Maruti Bhimanna was stabbed in

the back and was treated in hospital and allowed to go. Inspector McKenna who was with the procession, hearing the noise and tumult rushed back, leaving one Sub-Inspector with the procession. On seeing Inspector McKenna the crowd dispersed. The procession went on to Parbhadevi Road but while returning stones were thrown on it near the Saraswati Cinema on DeLisle Road. The Sub-Inspector accompanying the procession telephoned to the DeLisle Police Station for assistance and Deputy Inspector Sawant was sent with a party of armed police. He brought the procession back as far as the musjid. The music was stopped before the musjid, but cries of "Jai" were raised. The Muhammadans again threw stones at the procession apparently as a protest against the shouting and the Hindus retaliated. The police accompanying the procession seeing the difficult situation advised the Hindus to stop their cries and refrain from retaliation. This had the desired effect, and the procession ultimately marched to the Maruti temple from where it had started. Here it dispersed. This was at about 11-30 p.m. Subsequently stray assaults continued during the night. At 1 a.m. on the 28th April 1929 a small party of Muhammadans, who were returning from a funeral, were passing over the Curry Road Bridge when at the foot of the bridge they were attacked by a mob of Hindus. One of them named Masum Khan Sirdar Khan was killed on the spot and another, Nur Mahomed Meherali, died in the hospital shortly after admission. The following is the list of casualties in this riot :—

Hindus

1. Bala Bapu—died on the spot.
2. Shiva Appa.
3. Maruti Bhimanna.
4. Rama Bhiku.
5. Kashinath Narayan Nimbkar.

Muhammadans

1. Gulam Razak Mohamedali.
2. Abdul Karim Abdul Gafoor.
3. Yakub Abdul Rahim.
4. Himatkhan Itebarkhan.
5. Umer Ahmed.
6. Hassan Khan Bahadur Khan.
7. Hasan Hussein Baksh.
8. Lalmohamed Alimohamed.
9. Amir Khan Madar Khan.
10. Munna Shubrati.
11. Vali Mohamed Ali Mohamed.
12. Khatija, widow of Mohamed Baban.
13. Mohamed Baban.
14. Dastagir Hussein.
15. Masum Khan Sirdar Khan—killed on the spot.
16. Nur Mohamed Meherali—died in hospital.

The police brought the situation under control in the early hours of the 28th April 1929. The day passed off peacefully and there

were no serious clashes between the Muhammadans and Hindus till about 9-30 p.m. when the following assaults were reported to the police :—

At 9-30 p.m. a victoria driver named Raja Ali Mahomed was driving his victoria No. 691 along DeLisle Road towards Haines Road when, near the Arthur Road Bridge, he was stopped by a crowd of Hindus who, after satisfying themselves that he was a Muhammadan, assaulted him with sticks and stones. He received several injuries on the head, forehead and body, for which he was detained in hospital.

At 10 p.m. a Mahomedan Siddi named Arasbux Shamsher, said to be a motor-driver, was found lying at the junction of Curry Road and DeLisle Road. He was removed to the King Edward Memorial Hospital by the police. He had received five contused lacerated wounds on the head, an incised wound on the right wrist and another incised wound on the left side of his abdomen. He succumbed to these injuries in the early hours of the 30th April.

At 10 p.m. a Pathan named Hassan Gul Rakmashah, a fitter in the Meyer Sassoon Mill, was going along DeLisle Road when a mob of Bhayyas came out of a lane below the Curry Road Bridge and chased him. He ran towards DeLisle Road Mosque for shelter but finding the gate of the mosque closed he began to run towards the Bombay Development Chawls. Opposite Chawl No. 7 he was overtaken and assaulted by the Bhayyas with sticks. He received three contused wounds on the head and contused lacerated wounds on the head and on the bridge of the nose, for which he was detained in hospital.

At the same time one Budhoo Paigamber, Muhammadan servant of one Adamji Lukhmanji residing at Worli, was passing along DeLisle Road when, opposite the Sir Shapurji Bharucha Mills, he was set upon by some Hindus and belaboured with sticks. He was removed to hospital with seven contused lacerated wounds on the head and was detained for treatment. In connection with this assault 2 Hindus were arrested by the police.

The same night one Soma Maruti, residing in Bombay Development Chawl No. 25 was going along DeLisle Road when some unknown Muhammadan threw a stone at him from the DeLisle Road Mosque and caused a slight injury to his head.

On the 29th April 1929 a feeling of considerable nervousness prevailed in the Muhammadan localities and the Mussalmans were undoubtedly excited over the murder of the two Mussalmans returning from a funeral on Curry Road Bridge on 27th April. The following incidents were reported :—

At 10 p.m. on 29th April information was received at the Byculla Police Station that a crowd of about 250 Mussalmans had collected near the Khairuddin Musjid on Parel Road and were abusing Hindu passers-by. The police promptly repaired to the spot and dispersed the crowd.

At 12-45 a.m. information was received at the Dongri Police Station that a crowd of about 300 Mussalmans and Pathans had collected at the junction of Bhendy Bazaar Road and Sandhurst Road armed

with lathis. The police promptly went to the scene and on enquiry learnt that at about midnight some victoria driver shouted out that another victoria driver had been belaboured by Hindus at Lalwadi. In consequence of this rumour a crowd of Mussalmans about 300 to 400 in number collected and were discussing the situation in an excited mood. On arrival of the police however the crowd dispersed. A police guard was maintained at the Bhendy Bazaar corner during the night as a precautionary measure and nothing of an untoward nature occurred.

At 2 a.m. on the 30th April 1929 information was received at the Nagpada Police Station that some disturbance had taken place at 14th Lane, Kamatipura. The police repaired to the spot and found some shops closed in Kamatipura, Sukhlaji Street and Foras Road, owing to a rumour that some communal clash had taken place in the locality. This was, however, found to be a false alarm and nothing untoward happened.

At 9-30 p.m. on 30th April a number of Mussalmans were going to the Bombay Development Department Chawls situated at Naigaum when, opposite Chawl No. 16, some Hindus threw stones and soda-water bottles at them. The Mussalmans retaliated. Stone throwing continued on either side for some time until the arrival of the police who dispersed the crowd. Two Muhammadans named Khan Pathan Ramzan and Sheikh Budhoo Sheikh Ramzan received minor injuries, for which they were treated in the hospital and allowed to go.

'At 11-45 p.m. there was an alarm of a fresh fracas taking place at the Bombay Development Department Chawls, Naigaum. The police rushed to the scene and noticed that stones were thrown from Chawl No. 11. On the approach of the police the stone throwing ceased and everything became quiet. The police seized 6 lathis from Chawl No. 11 and 4 lathis and an iron bar from Chawl No. 16.

At the same time one Atmaram Ramrao Kantak, residing in Sarkari House, Bazaar Road, Kamatipura, reported at the Nagpada Police Station that, while he was standing in front of Sitadevi temple at Bazaar Road at about 10-30 p.m., somebody threw a stone which hit him slightly on the back. He added that several other stones were also thrown at the temple from behind the surrounding building some rooms of which are occupied by Mussalmans. A police guard was kept at this place and nothing untoward happened.

On the 1st May 1929 the following incidents were reported :—

At 8-30 p.m. three Muhammadan constables of the armed police who were in plain clothes were passing along the Bombay Development Department Chawls at Naigaum when some stones were thrown at them from Chawls Nos. 14 and 15. One of the constables, Akhlaq Ahmed, received a punctured wound $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$ on the right leg for which he was treated in the hospital and allowed to go.

At 8-45 p.m. another armed police constable named Syed Wajahat Hussein was passing the Bombay Development Department Chawls at Naigaum when some stones were thrown at him from Chawl No. 16. A police guard was then kept at these chawls and there was no further trouble.

At 10-30 p.m. information was given at the Byculla Police Station that some Hindus threw stones at the Dhondphodia mosque situated at Parel Road. On the arrival of the police the crowd dispersed.

One Usman Tyed Niaz, an unemployed Halai Memon, distributed about 500 Gujerati leaflets in the Muhammadan localities in the city. The publisher was sent for by the Commissioner of Police and the dangers of publishing such leaflets were pointed out to him. He expressed his regret and handed over 2,500 copies of the leaflet. The following is the translation of the leaflet :—

"ATTACKS ON PEACE-LOVING MUSSALMANS

WILL MOSQUES HAVE TO BE LOCKED UP ?

What is Mr. Kelly, the Police Commissioner, doing ?

"Whilst the memory of the last Bombay riots still makes one's hair stand on end, in the Parel area owing to the Hindu mill strikers, a reign of goondaism is being carried on against the Mussalmans. This has gone on for the last five days and still those in authority have not been able to control the situation. How sad this is ?

"As if the Hindu strikers have taken the law in their own hands, day after day terrible and hair-raising information is being received of more and more attacks by the Hindus. The following news, which is appearing in the Urdu daily named *Aftab*, dated 1st May 1929, is heart-rending for the Mussalmans :—

Parel mosque in danger

"The Mussalman residents living close to the Masjid near the Khatarn Mill had gone to the office of the *Aftab* paper and have declared that if the Mussalmans and the Muttawalis of the Masjid do not pay prompt attention to this matter, they will have to lock up the doors of their Masjid. The Hindus have guarded the strategic approaches to the mosque and now it is dangerous for the Mussalmans to go to the above masjid for offering their prayers.

"It is said that the majority of the police in the Parel area consists of Hindus and owing to this the Hindus of that place have more license. It is necessary to enquire into the truth or otherwise of these allegations. It is necessary for the Mussalman leaders and the Muslim Peace Committee to give up their pleasure-seeking and their enjoyments and to take necessary steps to bring to an end this drama, of the spilling of innocent blood, especially as the holy *Bakr Id* is fast approaching. In conclusion, I wish to draw the attention of Mr. Kelly to the above facts and hope that as far as lies in his power he will make every possible *bandobast* in this matter and thus become still more endeared to the Mussalmans of Bombay.

(Signed) A lover of peace,

USMAN TYED NIAZ,

Kolsa Moholla, Bombay, 3."

The communal situation suddenly grew worse on the night of 2nd May 1929. The distribution of the Gujerati leaflet referred to above in the Muhammadan localities of the city on the preceding day was no doubt a contributory cause. At about 9-30 p.m. on the 2nd May a Muhammadan hawker named Shaikh Ismail Gani complained to the Pydhoni Police Station that he was going along Kolkhat Lane near Kalbadevi when an empty soda-water bottle fell on his right hand causing him injury. He was not in a position to say whether it was thrown at him deliberately or fell on him accidentally. He was sent to hospital for treatment. News, however, spread in the Muhammadan localities in the city that a Muhammadan was assaulted by Hindus near Kalbadevi and crowds of Muhammadans collected at Bhendi Bazaar and Pydhoni. After about an hour Muhammadans began to assault Hindus indiscriminately and from this day the riots took a definite communal turn all over the city. The following incidents took place on the night of :—

2nd May 1929

1. One Mohanlal Tricumji was passing along Bhendi Bazaar at 10-45 p.m. when he was assaulted with sticks and knives by some Muhammadans. He was removed to hospital by the police for treatment.
2. One Pragji Jadhavji was passing along Bhendi Bazaar Road at 10-45 p.m. when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was removed to the hospital for treatment by the police.
3. One Mangaldas Mathurabhai was going along Sydenham Road at 10-45 p.m. when he was assaulted with sticks by some Muhammadans. He was removed to the hospital for treatment.
4. One Velji Raghavji was passing in a hack victoria through Barbhai Mohalla at 10-45 p.m. when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was removed to the hospital for minor injuries on the head. He was treated and allowed to go.
5. A Police constable No. 1434-B, Ramchandra Anant, was going in a hack victoria in plain clothes along Dontad Street at about 11-30 p.m. when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans. He was removed to the hospital where he was detained for treatment.
6. One Pancha Patan was assaulted with sticks by some Muhammadans on Pydhoni Road at about 11-30 p.m. He was removed to the hospital and was treated and allowed to go.
7. At about 12 midnight one Vithal Laxman Mhapralkar was going along Koliwada Road near Mandvi when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans. He received a stab wound in the abdomen. He was removed to the hospital by the police where he was detained for treatment.
8. At about 12 midnight a Hindu Ghati was assaulted by some Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar Road. He went to his house at Chakla Street, but as he was badly injured he was

removed to the hospital by his relatives. He had received incised wounds on the back and head. He subsequently died on the 4th May 1929. His name was ascertained to be Pandoo Genu.

9. At about 1 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd May a Hindu Gujerati named Babulal Gulabdas, servant in a tea shop, was sleeping on the *otla* of a shop at the junction of Abdul Rehman Street and Musjid Bunder Road, when he was stabbed by some Muhammadans in the abdomen. He was removed to the hospital by the police where he subsequently died the same day. Three arrests were made in connection with this assault.

10 At about 4 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd May one Sohan Jagoo was going along Chinchbunder Road when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was removed to the hospital where he was treated and allowed to go.

11. At about 6 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd May a Hindu named Babu Kondaji was passing along Tantanpura Road when he was assaulted with sticks by some Muhammadans. He was treated at the hospital and allowed to go.

12. At about 7 a.m. on the 3rd May, a Hindu named Govind Rama was passing along Tantanpura Road when he was assaulted with sticks by some Muhammadans. He was detained in hospital for treatment.

On the night of the 2nd May 1929 information was received by the Pydhoni Police Station that a number of Gurkhas and a number of Muhammadans had collected near the Zakaria Masjid on Masjid Bunder Road and were about to attack each other. The police immediately rushed to the scene and dispersed them. Police arrangements were made to guard the important junctions in the locality and no further trouble occurred.

3rd May 1929

On the 3rd May from 7 a.m. to 2-30 p.m. everything was quiet in the city but soon afterwards information was received by the Byculla Police Station that Hindus and Muhammadans were stoning each other near the Dhondphodia mosque on Parel Road. The police proceeded to the spot and found large crowds of both Hindus and Muhammadans collected at Telli Galli stoning each other. They were dispersed. From enquiries it was found that about 200 Muhammadans armed with sticks came from Lalbag side shouting " Allaho-Akhbar ". They were stopped by the police at the junction of Kalachowki Road with Parel Road. They said that they were going to rescue two Muhammadans, who had taken shelter in a hotel, from the attacks of the Hindus. Sub-Inspector Alim offered to go and rescue the two Muhammadans. The Muhammadans stopped where they were and the Sub-Inspector went and brought out the men from the hotel. As he was escorting them, the Hindus from the adjoining chawls started stoning the rescued Muhammadans. The

Muhammadan crowd which was standing at the junction of Kalachowki Road with Parel Road then rushed towards the Hindus and threw stones at them. A few minutes later a crowd of about 200 Hindus came from the direction of Kalachowki and rushed towards the Dhondphodia mosque which is situated close to the junction of Kalachowki Road and Parel Road. The Hindu mob attacked the police who were standing between the mosque and the junction of Kalachowki Road with Parel Road. They also stoned the Muhammadans standing near by. Superintendent Power was injured on the index finger of his right hand. He fired one shot from his revolver in self-defence. This had the desired effect and the crowd dispersed. In the above rioting besides Mr. Power three Muhammadans and one police constable received injuries. After this incident rioting became general all over the Byculla section, at Mazagaon, Babula Tank Road, Parel Road, Kalachowki Road, etc. The following is the list of casualties :—

1. Alladia Abdul Majid, Muhammadan, assaulted on Mazagaon Bridge.
2. Ganpat Subrao, Hindu, assaulted on Babula Tank Road.
3. Jaipal Anta, Hindu, assaulted on Parel Road.
4. Narayen Megha, Hindu, assaulted in front of Lalwadi market.
5. Abdulla Cassim, Muhammadan, assaulted in front of the Venus Cinema, and died immediately.
6. Hassanali Ibrahim, Muhammadan, assaulted on Kalachowki Road.
7. Ganpat Bhagia, Hindu, assaulted in Telli Galli.

On the 3rd May 1929, His Excellency the Governor arrived from Mahabaleshwar at about 2-30 p.m. and called an immediate conference at the Secretariat of the Home and General Members, the Officiating Commander, Bombay District, and the Commissioner of Police. While the Conference was in progress reports were received of rioting in the Kalachowki area, then near the J. J. Hospital and also near Jacob Circle, as a result of which 6 persons were killed and about 70 injured. It became evident that unless immediate steps were taken to suppress these disorders there would be a repetition of the events of February last. It was therefore decided to call out the military in aid of the civil power and two companies of the 2nd Battalion, the Royal Warwickshire Regiment, arrived at the Head Police Office at 5-15 p.m. and were posted as follows :—

1.	Pydhoni Police Station ..	One platoon.
2.	Bhendi Bazaar ..	Do.
3.	Jacob Circle ..	Do.
4.	Curry Road Bridge ..	Do.
5.	Nagpada Police Station ..	Do.
6.	Lalbaugh ..	Do.
7.	Chinchpokli Chowki ..	Do.

One platoon was kept in reserve at the Head Police Office.

Four hundred and fifty armed police from the following districts were drafted into the city to assist the local police :—

District	Number of men	Date of arrival
Poona	70	26th April 1929.
Kolaba	30	Do.
Nasik	50	Do.
East Khandesh	75	5th May 1929.
Satara	75	Do.
Thana	50	4th May 1929.
Panch Mahals	50	17th May 1929.
Kaira	50	Do.
	450	

The 50 men from Nasik were sent back on the 16th May 1929 and were replaced by 50 men from Dhulia on 16th May 1929.

At 3 p.m. information was received that serious rioting was going on at the corner of J. J. Hospital. The police on arrival found a crowd of Muhammadans assaulting Hindu passers-by. They arrested a Muhammadan ringleader. Soon after police reinforcements came up under Inspector Shaikh Hussain and the crowd dispersed. While attempting to arrest other ringleaders Inspector Shaikh Hussain received a lathi blow. Shortly after the rioting became general at Bhendi Bazaar, Parel Road, Grant Road and other localities. Below is the list of casualties during this rioting :—

1. A Hindu (name not known) assaulted by Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar. He died on the spot.
2. Keshav Abba, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
3. Amratlal Jethalal, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
4. Lakhamsey Khimji, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
5. Gopal Baloo, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
6. Bhiwa Govind, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at Doctor Street.
7. Soma Jetha, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
8. Bhagwan Mahadeo, Hindu assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
9. Manger Mohanger, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
10. Indarji Babaji, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
11. Girja Tuka, Hindu, assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road. He died in hospital on 6th May 1929.
12. Mahadeo Rama, Hindu, found lying unconscious at Grant Road. He died in hospital on 4th May 1929.

13. A Hindu (unknown) found lying unconscious at Grant Road.
14. Rama Pillaji, H. found lying unconscious at Babula Tank Road. Died in hospital on 4th May 1929.
15. Moru Balu, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Two Tanks.
16. Dhondiram Khandoo, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar.
17. Ramji Savji, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
18. Dhondu Khandu, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at the J. J. Hospital corner.
19. The dead body of a Hindu named Bhagia Jiwa found on Yakub Street with stab wounds.
20. Bachoo Ebrahim, M. found injured in the 3rd Lane Kumbharwada.
21. Hari Ganpat, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Parel Road.
22. Ganpat Bhiwa, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Parel Road.
23. Gopal Hangoo, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Parel Raod.
24. Vasanji Khandubhai Desai, H. found stabbed to death at the J. J. Hospital Corner.
25. Janardhan Sakharam, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
26 Arjun Babu, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
27. Govind Sabaji, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
28. Ravji Bajirao, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road.
29. Mangal Jiyalal, H. assaulted by Muhammadans at Grant Road
30. Vithal Hari, H. stabbed by Muhammadans on Victoria Gardens Road. He died in hospital on 6th May 1929.
31. Narandas Gordhandas, H. stabbed by Muhammadans near Mastan Tank.
32. Habib Ismail, M. stabbed by Hindus at 8th Lane Kamatipura.
33. Idoo Rangoo, H. assaulted by Muhammadans on Clerk Road.

At 3 p.m. a Hindu named Kamal Ramji was assaulted by a Pathan opposite the Umerkhadi Post Office at Sandhurst Road. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was treated for minor injuries and allowed to go.

At the same time one Ranchhoddas Naranji, a Hindu carpenter, was assaulted by Muhammadans at Phool Galli with sticks and knives. He was detained in hospital for treatment.

At 4 p.m. a Hindu cart driver named Krishna Minoo was assaulted opposite the Umerkhadi Post Office by some Pathans. He received minor injuries.

At the same time a Hindu named Bala Sakharam was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks and knives in Piru lane near Bhendi Bazaar. He was removed to hospital where he died on the 23rd May 1929.

At 5-45 p.m. an unknown Muhammadan aged about 27 years was found murdered in front of an Irani's shop at the junction of Arthur Road with Delisle Road.

At the same time a Hindu named Umersey Asoo was passing along Sydenham Road when he was stabbed by some Muhammadans. He was detained for treatment in hospital. He complained of having been relieved of Rs. 15.

At 7-55 p.m. a Pathan named Kalandar Shah Shakur was found lying injured in Doctor Kunte's compound in Byculla section. He was removed to the hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At 8 p.m. a Muhammadan named Siddiq Abdulla was stabbed by some Hindus near 8th Lane Kamatipura. He died in hospital soon after admission. Four Hindus have been arrested in this connection.

At 8-20 p.m. a Hindu named Vithoba Keshav was assaulted by Muhammadans at the corner of J. J. Hospital. He was removed to the hospital for treatment.

At 8-40 p.m. seven Hindus and two Muhammadans who were known bad characters were arrested by the Delisle Road Police Station.

At 9-10 p.m. a Hindu named Sakharam Kondaji was assaulted by Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar Road. He had sustained a fracture of the left leg and other minor injuries for which he had been detained in hospital.

At 9-30 p.m. one Popatlal Chunilal was assaulted by some Muhammadans at Bhendi Bazaar with sticks and knives. He was removed to the hospital and detained for treatment.

At the same time information was received at the Bhoiwada Police Station that there was a disturbance at Bombay Development Department chawls at Naigaum. The police and the military repaired to the spot when the mob dispersed. A Muhammadan named Ahmed Aba Mistry was found lying injured between Chawls Nos. 16 and 20. He was taken to the hospital where he was detained for treatment but died on 6th May 1929.

As these chawls were a source of trouble for some days, the police with the help of the military rounded up 220 Hindus and recovered 30 lathis, 11 iron bars and large quantities of stones.

At 9-30 p.m. a Muhammadan cart driver named Ahmed Bachu was stabbed opposite the Dinshaw Petit Mill, Parel Road, by an unknown Hindu. He was removed to the hospital for treatment but he succumbed to his injuries on 22nd May 1929.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Mohammad Bashir was removed from opposite the Byculla Fire Brigade Station in an unconscious state by the Fire Brigade Ambulance. He was under the influence of liquor and stated that he was assaulted by the members of the Byculla Fire Brigade but this statement was ultimately proved to be untrue. He was detained in hospital for treatment but died on 13th May 1929. The medical evidence recorded at the inquest held over his body on the 15th May 1929 showed that he died of Septic Meningities (natural causes) and that his death has nothing to do with injuries which he received on the 3rd May 1929.

At 10 p.m. one Jalal Mona, a Muhammadan syce, was assaulted by some Hindus in 6th Lane Khetwadi. He had received minor injuries.

At the same time a Muhammadan victoria driver, name not known, was assaulted by Hindus on Thakurdwar Road. He was detained in the G. T. Hospital for treatment of stab wounds.

At 10-30 p.m. information was received by the Princess Street Police Station that some Hindu hooligans were assaulting a Muhammadan watchman at Kumbhartukda near Madhav Baugh. The watchman was rescued by the police and sent to hospital where he was detained for treatment. Sixteen arrests were made in this connection.

At 11 p.m. a hack victoria driver named Gani Jalal was surrounded by a crowd of about 150 Hindus near Sarkari Tabela, Girgaum Road, and assaulted with sticks. The police rescued him and removed him to the hospital.

At 12 midnight the oil shop of one Nur Mohammad Habib situated at Mughbhat Lane was looted by Hindus. The contents of the shop were thrown in the street and the money taken away.

At 12-30 a.m. some Hindus threw stones at the stables owned by Muhammadans on Byculla Station Road. The Muhammadans living in the locality retaliated. Some windows were damaged but no injuries have been reported.

At 1 a.m. about 300 Hindus were found stoning some Muhammadans sleeping on the pavement of Carrol Road. The police dispersed the crowd and arrested two Hindus and took charge of some bamboo sticks lying on the road.

At 1-15 a.m. the Hindu and Muhammadan residents of two chawls situated at New Chinch Bunder Road close to the Dongri Police Station indulged in stone-throwing at each other. The police went to the scene, dispersed the crowd and arrested 5 Muhammadans. In this rioting two Moghul tea shop-keepers named Abbas Mohammad and Ghulam Rajab received minor injuries.

At 2-20 a.m. on 4th May, information was received that some Muhammadans were stoning a building occupied by Hindus on Pais Street, Byculla. The police with the military and an Honorary Magistrate went to the spot but the crowd did not disperse. The Magistrate therefore ordered the Military to disperse the crowd by force. The military charged the crowd with bayonets and dispersed it. Two persons were reported to have received bayonet wounds.

4th May 1929

On the 4th May the 3rd Battalion, 9th Jat Regiment, was called in from Santa Cruz and encamped at the Victoria Gardens. A detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment arrived from Deolali and the Light Motor Group of the Bombay Battalion was embodied. Two more military pickets were established, one at Ghorupdeo and the other at Poibavdi.

The following incidents took place on the 4th May 1929 :—

At 5 a.m. on the 4th May a Hindu milkman named Devu Narayen was passing along Chuna Bhatti near Pydhoni where he was stabbed by some Muhammadans. He was removed to hospital in a precarious condition. He died on the 7th May.

At 6-30 a.m. information was received that there was rioting between Hindus and Muhammadans on Ghorapdeo Road, Byculla section. The police on arrival found that two Hindus were injured and the pan shop of a Muhammadan named Mohammad Karimbux was broken open and damaged.

At 7-30 a.m. one Suparangsing Roodsing, a taxi driver, was assaulted at the junction of Reay Road and Victoria Road by some Muhammadans.

At 7-40 a.m. one Shamshul Kamar, son of Hajishah, a taxi driver, was stoned by some Hindus on Reay Road. He received minor injuries.

At 8 a.m. a dead body of an unknown Muhammadan was found lying at 1st Lane Kumbharwada near Golpitha, Null Bazaar.

At the same time one Ratnoo Santoo, a cooly in the Bombay Municipal Road Department, while going along Ripon Road, was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He received minor injuries.

At 8-30 a.m. there was a fracas at Bawan Chawl, Ghorupdeo, between Hindus and Muhammadans. One Hindu named Bhika Tukaram and three Muhammadans named (1) Taher Ali Baker Ali, (2) Mohammad Jawad Ali and (3) Barkat Hussainbux were slightly injured. They were treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At the same time a Hindu named Surajmal Joharmal and a Muhammadan named Alladin Premji were assaulted by some Hindus at Darukhana Road, Mazagaon. They sustained minor injuries for which they were treated in hospital and allowed to go. It appears that the Hindu was mistaken for a Muhammadan.

At the same time one Shivaji Lalji, a Hindu grain dealer, residing at Ambewadi, Kalachowki Road, was going with his wife and children in a taxi along Victoria Road, Byculla. When the taxi came on the Victoria Bridge, the occupants were stoned by some Muhammadans and received slight injuries.

At 9 a.m. a Muhammadan named Abdul Karim Abdul Razaak, residing at Bengalpura was stabbled by some Hindus on Arthur Road Bridge opposite the Chinchpokli Railway Station. He was removed to the King Edward Memorial Hospital but he died on the 10th May.

At 9-30 a.m. one Rahmat Illahi was assaulted by some Hindus at Frere Bunder in Byculla section. He was treated for minor injuries in hospital and allowed to go.

At the same time four Muhammadans attempted to set fire to the room of one Arjun Babu residing on Ghorapdeo Road. They stacked hay near the door of Arjun Babu's room and set fire to it. Before any serious damage could be done, the fire was extinguished by his neighbours. Four Muhammadans have been arrested in connection with this act of incendiarism.

At 10-45 a.m. one Antoo Hira, a Hindu, was stabbed by some Muhammadans at Imamwada Road, Dongri section. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was detailed for treatment.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Jumman was assaulted by some Hindus on Ghorapdeo Road. He was treated in hospital for slight injuries and allowed to go.

At the same time a Muhammadan hawker named Shaukat Ali Ibrahim Ali was going along Kalachowki Road when he was assaulted by some Hindus. He was treated in hospital for slight injuries and allowed to go.

At 11 a.m. a Hindu named Genu Babaji was assaulted by some Muhammadans on Sandhurst Road with sticks. He was detained in hospital for treatment.

At the same time a medical student named G. S. Subnis, was passing along Nishanpada Road, Dongri section, when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was detained in hospital for treatment.

At the same time a Muhammadan butcher named Mohammad Khudabux, residing at Jacob Circle, while going along the Arthur Road Bridge on a bicycle, was assaulted by some Hindus with sticks, iron bars and a knife. His bicycle was taken away by the Hindus but it was subsequently found by the police below the bridge. He received a contused wound on the head and an incised wound on the back.

At the same time the DeLisle Road Police arrested a Muhammadan at DeLisle Road named Nabi Sultan, who was suspected of inciting Muhammadans against Hindus.

At 12 noon a party of 25 Muhammadans was returning from the burial ground at Thakurdwar Road. When they were passing through Fanaswadi they were attacked by a mob of Hindus who chased them right up to C. P. Tank Road. The Muhammadans ran into Girgaum Back

Road and thence through Ardeshir Dady lane to Islampura, a Muhammadan locality. The Muhammadans of Islampura turned out with lathis and there would have been a serious riot had not the police arrived there in time.

A hack victoria driver named Ibrahim Wazir was driving his gharry along Bhuleshwar Road when he was stoned by a Hindu mob at the junction of Thakurdwar Road and Bhuleshwar Road. He was sent to hospital where he was treated and allowed to go.

A Hindu named Gangaram Raghu was stabbed in the back by a Muhammadan on Falkland Road near Golpitha. He was treated in the hospital and allowed to go.

Three Mohammedans named Kassam Ahmed, Abdul Sattar Abdulla and Abdul Rahman Haji Muhammad, who were returning from the Karelwadi burial ground along Thakurdwar Road, were assaulted by a mob of 200 Hindus. Kassam Ahmed, who received multiple injuries, died soon after admission into hospital. The other two, who received minor injuries, were treated and allowed to go.

At 1 p.m. a Muhammadan named Syed Ali Ahmed was assaulted by some Hindus at Dongri Street. He was removed to hospital for treatment.

At 1-15 p.m. information was received at the Byculla Police Station that two Hindus named Bala Krishna and Bapu Nana, who were removed to the hospital earlier in the day from Ghorapdeo and Reay Road respectively, died in the J. J. Hospital. They were reported to have been assaulted by some Muhammadans.

At the same time information was received at the Princess Street Police Station that a mob of Hindus had collected on Thakurdwar Road and were molesting Muhammadan passers-by, hack victoria drivers, etc. The Bohri manager of the Mitha Metal Works, situated at Fanaswad also complained that his workmen were afraid of going to the workshop owing to the presence of the Hindu mob. The police immediately went to the scene and the crowd dispersed in the bye-lanes. 12 persons have been arrested out of the Hindu mob.

At the same time three Hindus named Pallan Ghela, Nagoo Dongersey and Devji Raghu were going along Sandhurst Road when they were assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. They were removed to hospital for treatment.

At 1-25 p.m. a Muhammadan named Mohammad Sulaiman was going along Dongri Street when he was stoned by some Hindus. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital for treatment.

At 1-55 p.m. information was received from Madanpura that about 2,000 Muhammadans had collected at Ripon Road opposite the Badi Musjid. In consequence of that information police officers accompanied by the military picket and an Honorary Magistrate repaired to the scene. On enquiry it was ascertained that the Muhammadans had collected there with the object of proceeding to Lalwadi to take revenge on Hindus, as

they had received information to the effect that the Hindus had attacked a mosque at Kalachowki, and had also killed some Muhammadans and their children after rushing into their houses. When the people were questioned about the source of their information, they pointed out one Zamrozkhan Ibrahim Khan, a Pathan taxi driver, who was seated in his taxi. Zamrozkhan was questioned and he asserted that the information was correct. The police assured the crowd that there was no truth in the information given by the driver and asked them not to proceed further. They were asked to send a couple of their representatives to the police station to verify the information. Eventually the rumour was found to be absolutely false and on being informed about this the crowd dispersed quietly.

Zamrozkhan was searched and a sharpened clasp knife and a crow bar were found hidden under the seat of his taxi. He was arrested and a case under section 153, Indian Penal Code, was recorded against him.

At 2 p.m. a Muhammadan named Babu Alisaheb was assaulted by some Hindus on Kalachowki Road. He received a stab wound on his chest and several injuries on his head. He was removed to the hospital for treatment but he died on 5th May.

At the same time a Hindu named Bhiwa Yesoo Surve was going along Byculla Station Road when he was assaulted by 4 Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated for minor injuries in hospital and allowed to go.

At 2-15 p.m. three Muhammadans Abdul Saheb Karim, Inam Raja Saheb and Kasaku Imam Saheb were assaulted by some Hindus on DeLisle Road near the Municipal Office. They were treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At the same time a Hindu named Baba Babu Chaugule residing at Nanabhoy's Adda, Ripon Road, was going along Byculla Station Road, when he was assaulted by 4 Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated in hospital for minor injuries and allowed to go.

At 3 p.m. a Hindu Ghati, name not known, was assaulted by three Muhammadans on Byculla Station Road. He was removed to the hospital by the police. In this connection the police arrested two Muhammadans named Safi Wahid and Tulla Kadi on the spot, while the third ran away.

At 3-30 p.m. about 150 Muhammadans who had accompanied a funeral procession, were going armed with heavy sticks and there was some excitement in the locality through which they passed. Police officers from the Princess Street Police Station on getting this information immediately went to the scene and asked the Muhammadans to hand over their lathis. They refused and were defiant. The military were called out at the burial ground. After burial was over the Muhammadans were asked to hand over the sticks. They however left the sticks inside the cemetery and went away. They were given police protection. 29 sticks produced by the Cemetery clerk were taken possession of by the police.

At the same time a Bhangi named Batta Ratna was going along Victoria Road, Byculla, when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans. His right arm was fractured for which he was treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At 3-35 p.m. information was received by the Byculla Police that an aerated water cart, belonging to the French Company of Mazagaon and driven by one Dhondi Tatyappa, had been looted by some Hindus near Dhaku Parbhu's Wadi, Ghorapdeo Road, on the 3rd May, and that 28 dozen bottles had been stolen.

At 3-45 p.m. one Keshavlal Jethalal was assaulted by some Muhammadans on Sandhurst Road. He was removed to J. J. Hospital for treatment.

At the same time a Hindu named Vishnu Ramji was assaulted by some Muhammadans at Memonwada Road. He was removed to the hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At 4 p.m. a Hindu named Subrao Naresh was assaulted by a Muhammadan on Sandhurst Road with a pen-knife. He received a superficial wound on the back for which he was treated and allowed to go.

At 4-15 p.m. a Hindu named Maruti Yessoo was going along Nishanpada Road, Dongri section, when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At the same time the "D" Division police found the dead body of a Muhammadan named Abdul at Bakre-ka-Adda, DeLisle Road. Enquiries went to show that he was assaulted by Hindus when he was going along the road with four of his companions who ran away after he was beaten.

At 4-15 p.m. a Muhammadan funeral party was going along Lalwadi armed with sticks. The police disarmed them and seized 12 sticks.

At 4-45 p.m. an unknown Hindu Ghati was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks on Sydenham Road, Bhendi Bazaar. He received multiple injuries and died in hospital on the morning of 5th May.

At 5 p.m. a Muhammadan named Mohamed Haji Karim was going along Dongri Street when he was stabbed by a Hindu. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At 5-30 p.m. an unknown Hindu, aged about 22, was found lying in an unconscious state on Sydenham Road near Bhendi Bazaar. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he died on the morning of 5th May.

At 6 p.m. a Hindu named Ramoo Darsi was going along Carnac Road when he was assaulted by some Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Inayatshah Mehtabshah was going along Umerkhadi when he was stabbed by a Hindu who ran away. He was removed to the hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At the same time information was received at the Nagpada Police Station from Sulaiman Chowki that about 800 Muhammadans had collected on Grant Road between Sulaiman Chowki and J. J. Hospital corner. The police with the military and the Honorary Presidency Magistrate repaired to the spot when the crowd began to run into the side lanes. A few Punjabi Muhammadans who were in the crowd ran into a tailor's shop at Huzria Street. The police searched the shop and seized 12 large bamboos. Ten Punjabi Muhammadans were arrested in connection with this affair.

At 6-15 p.m. two Muhammadans named Badru Baki and Bakridin Ali Hussain were assaulted by some Hindus with sticks and stones on Kalachowki Road. They were detained in hospital.

At 6-30 p.m. a Moghul named Syed Hassan Syed Ramzan, while going along Rose Cottage Lane, Byculla, with a bread cart, was assaulted by some Hindu Bhayyas with sticks and stones. He was treated in hospital for minor injuries and allowed to go.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Abdul Rahman Shaikh Ibrahim, while going along Umerkhadi, was assaulted by some Hindus with sticks. He received minor injuries.

At the same time a Hindu named Tukaram Narayan, while going along Nizam Street, Nullbazaar, was assaulted with fists by some Muhammadans.

At 7 p.m. two Muhammadans named Mannoo and Nabba were going along Ghorapdeo Road when they were stoned by some Hindus. They were treated in hospital and allowed to go.

At 8 p.m. a Madrasi named Dhanuskodi Innada was assaulted by a Muhammadan with a stick at Khand Bazaar, Dongri section.

At 11 p.m. a Muhammadan named Kadar Mohiuddin was assaulted by some Hindus on Falkland Road.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Nazir Subhan was assaulted by some Hindus with sticks on Falkland Road. He was removed to the J. J. Hospital where he was detained for treatment.

At 11-45 p.m. the Maharbouri Police Station received information that the Hindus were throwing stones at the mosque at Chatni Mohalla near Khara Talao, Nullbazaar. When the Police went there everything was found to be quiet.

At 1-45 a.m. on the night of 4th May information was received by the Nagpadas Police that some Hindus were throwing stones from the Improvement Trust Chawls at Foras Road. When the police went there Chawl No. 17 was pointed out by some people. It was searched by the police but no offensive weapons or stones were found. Subsequently, information was received that people living in Chawl No. 15 were throwing stones and that a number of stones were stored on the terrace of the chawl. The police with an Honorary Magistrate searched the chawl and found several stones collected on the terrace of the said

chawl. The police took charge of a number of bamboos, and a hatchet, and arrested 11 persons.

At 2 a.m. the dead body of an unknown Muhammadan was found lying in Mirchi Galli near Kazi Syed Street, Pydhoni section with multiple injuries on the head.

On the evening of 4th May the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued a " Curfew " Order and an order prohibiting the assembly of more than 5 persons. These were duly promulgated in the city.

The Commissioner of Police also issued an order under section 23, sub-section 2 (*a*) and 2 (*b*) of the Bombay City Police Act of 1902 prohibiting the collection of stones and the carrying of swords, spears, bludgeons, guns, lathis, sticks, knives or other offensive weapons in any public place, for a period of one month commencing from 8 p.m. on May 4th.

5th May 1929

As a result of the enforcement of the " Curfew " Order, the order prohibiting assembly of more than 5 persons, and the order prohibiting the carrying of offensive weapons, there was a marked improvement in the situation in the affected areas from the morning of May 5th. Stray assaults however continued and the following incidents were reported :

At 8 a.m. on the 5th May a Municipal sweeper named Devu Kamala gave information to the Maharbouri Police that he had found the dead body of an unknown Muhammadan, aged about 35 years, lying in a sweeper's lane in 3rd lane, Kumbharwada.

The Municipal Corporation of Bombay at a special meeting held on May 5th appointed a small committee to co-operate with the authorities during the riots.

At 8-30 a.m. a Hindu named Wasudeo Babaji was going along Sandhurst Road when he was assaulted by some Pathans. He received minor injuries.

At 12-45 p.m. a Muhammadan hack victoria driver named Vali Noora reported to the Byculla Police Station that a Hindu engaged his victoria at Grant Road to go to Ghorapdeo and that when the victoria came to Ghorapdeo Road the Hindus rushed to assault him. Seeing the crowd advancing the Hindu passenger jumped out and ran away, leaving his luggage in the victoria. The Muhammadan victoria driver whipped up his horse and went out of the reach of the crowd. Subsequently he produced the passenger's luggage at the Byculla Police Station.

At the same time a Muhammadan named Nasir Ahmed residing at Old Bengalpura, reported to the Byculla Police Station that he was carrying a basket of meat along Ghorapdeo Road early in the morning when a Hindu threw a stone at him. He received a slight abrasion but refused to go to hospital.

At 1-30 p.m. a Hindu hawker of matches named Manji Munshi, accompanied by a Muhammadan coolie carrying match boxes, was

going along Fanaswadi Road. He was mistaken for a Muhammadan. Some 10 Hindus set upon him and assaulted him. The Muhammadan cooly threw away the match boxes and ran away. The police picket on duty at Thakurdwar Road immediately repaired to the spot and dispersed the crowd. Manji Munshi was detained in hospital for treatment. The police arrested nine men in connection with this assault.

At the same time, information was received by the Maharbouri Police Station that a Memon funeral party was proceeding to the Mangalwadi burial ground near Sarkari Tabella, Girgaum, accompanied by about 50 Pathans armed with sticks. On receipt of this information, the military guard at Golpitha and the police guard at Nullbazaar under Superintendent Finan hurried to the burial ground where they found that everything was quiet. The funeral was that of one Kassam Ahmed who had been assaulted by Hindus on Thakurdwar Road on the 4th May. After the burial, the sticks of the Pathans were taken charge of by the police and the funeral party was escorted back through the Hindu locality by the police up to Pydhoni Police Station. At this time the Bangi of the burial ground named Abdul Gani Abdul Karim, complained to the police that the night previous (4th May) a gang of about 200 Hindus came to the burial ground, demolished the tomb stone over the grave of one Saboo Sidiq but, on the persuasion of the other Hindus of the locality, they went away. The members of the funeral party also complained that the crescent over the pinnacle of the minaret of another tomb was smashed. The Bangi however explained that it was not so and that the crescent had been removed by the Trustees of the burial ground about a year ago. A guard of 10 policemen was posted at this burial ground.

At 3-30 p.m. one Shaikh Ali Jaffer, owner of a hotel in Gourishankar's Wadi, Ghorapdeo, reported to the Byculla Police Station that at about 7 a.m. on the 4th May a crowd of Hindus rushed into his hotel and damaged certain articles.

At 7-30 p.m. a Hindu boy named Ramoo Ghashi complained to the Princess Street Police Station that he was hit with a stone by an unknown Muhammadan at Janjikar Street. He was treated and allowed to go.

At 8 p.m. a Hindu named Sonu Trimbak, while going along Dongri Street, was assaulted by two Muhammadans with sticks. He was treated at the G. T. Hospital and allowed to go.

At 12 midnight information was received by the Pydhoni Police Station that several Gurkhas, Pathans and Sikhs, who were employed as watchmen at Dana Bunder and its neighbourhood, were carrying Kukris, knives and Kirpans. The police demanded the offensive weapons and took charge of 7 Kukris, 4 knives, 7 Kirpans and 29 sticks. The Sikhs were subsequently given their Kirpans back.

6th May 1929

On the 6th May three more military pickets were stationed at Two Tanks, Golpitha and at the junction of Sandhurst Road with Dongri Street.

The situation was improving, but the following incidents were reported :—

At 12 noon on the 6th May one Vasudeo Vithal Nerurkar, who was stabbed in the stomach by an unknown Muhammadan on the evening of 3rd May 1929 on Bellasis Road, went to the hospital and had his injuries attended to.

At 1-10 p.m. one Abdul Majid Vazir, owner of a hotel on Ghorapdeo Road, reported to the Byculla Police Station that on the evening of 4th May 1929 a number of Hindus rushed into his shop and assaulted him. Articles in his shop were broken and looted. He showed no visible injuries.

At 2 p.m. a Muhammadan bad character named Ahmed Budhan accompanied by a Muhammadan lad, aged about 14 years, went to a Marwari's shop at Pakmodia Street, Nullbazaar section, and attempted to extort money. Both were arrested by the police on the spot.

At 3-30 p.m. a Hindu named Ambaji Ramji, while going along Victoria Road, Nagpada section, was suddenly attacked at the corner of Shepherd Road by three Muhammadans with their fists. He showed no marks of injury.

At 8-30 p.m. a Hindu named Godu Tulsa, while going along Morland Road, was assaulted by four Pathans with bamboos. He received injuries on the head and had some of his ribs fractured. He was detained in hospital for treatment.

The Hindu Saunrakshak Mandal (Society for the protection of the Hindus) issued Marathi handbills which were distributed in the Girgaum locality. The following is a translation of the handbill :—

"In these days of riots the Hindus should bear the following suggestions in mind :—

(1) They should raise volunteers in their respective chawls and should keep a watch at night by turns so long as rioting is in full swing and until the signs of rioting have disappeared.

(2) So long as rioting has not stopped, they should not allow their wives and children to stir out alone.

(3) The people in the chawls should arrange to keep at least sufficient males at home by turns to guard the chawls.

(4) The males going to office should give their office telephone numbers to those who are at the chawls so that in case of necessity they could be asked on the "phone to come home."

(5) Specially passengers going out of Bombay from Bori Bunder or Bhau's Dhakka or coming to Bombay from outside, should engage gharries and motors only after satisfying

themselves that the driver is a Hindu, because it is risky to have faith in the present furious mentality of the Muhammadans.

(6) Every Hindu should necessarily keep in his house a lathi or a stick for self-protection.

(7) If anything extraordinary happens the Hindus in the Girgaum locality should at once give information of same to the Arya Samaj Mandir at Kakadwadi.

(8) As the responsibility of protecting the temples lies on all the Hindus in the neighbourhood of the temple they should guard the temples by turns.

(9) Every Hindu should become a member of the Hindu Saunrakshak Mandal as that would strengthen the Mandal and the members would be sure of getting protection.

Secretary,
Hindu Saunrakshak Mandal, Bombay.

Samrat Vaibhav Press, Bombay."

On the 6th May the police seized about 180 sticks, 85 knives and 1 iron bar at different places in the city.

The Princess Street police disarmed one Ramsingh Kirpalsingh, employed as a Jamadar of Sikh watchmen in Abdul Rahman Street, of a sword which he was seen carrying. He was prosecuted before the Chief Presidency Magistrate under section 19 (*f*) of the Indian Arms Act and under section 127 of the Bombay City Police Act and was convicted on both the charges.

7th May 1929

At 5-30 a.m. two Pathans named Taja Khan, son of Saleh Khan, and Mohammad Hassan Nur Ahmed, who were threatening passersby and attempting to rob them at Mistry Mohalla near Nullbazaar, were arrested by the police.

At 11-15 a.m. one Hirjibhoy Byramji Warden, Managing Director and Agent of the Progressive Land, Building and Trading Company, Ltd., Dadar, reported to the Byculla Police Station that the above Company owned 14 houses in Doctor's Compound, Kalachowki Road, and that on the 4th May 1929, some rioters broke open the door of the room of one of the houses in the occupation of his Pathan employee. He also complained of damage to some doors and windows of other houses owned by the Company.

At 3-15 p.m. one Fulchand Kalidas, the brother of the owner of Gaurishankar's stables situated at Ghorapdeo, reported to the Byculla Police Station that when he visited the stables the previous day he found 50 old galvanised tin sheets and bamboos worth Rs. 50 missing from the stables and the stables damaged.

On the 7th May the police seized 169 sticks, 41 knives, 8 iron bars and 1 Kukri at different places in the city.

8th May 1929.

At 8-30 a.m. a Hindu named Purshottam Rawji reported to the Dongri Police Station that while he was going along 1st Chinchbunder Road at 8-15 a.m. an unknown Pathan tried to attack him with a penknife. He raised an alarm and the Pathan ran away into a bye-lane. He did not receive any injury.

At 6 p.m. one Ganpat Laxman Samant, owner of a tea-shop at the corner of Kalachowki Road, reported to the Byculla Police Station that on the evening of 3rd May 1929, a crowd of Muhammadans threw stones at his shop causing damage to the extent of Rs. 200.

At 9-15 p.m. three Sikh watchmen named Dalsingh Bhalsingh, Indersingh Dudhasingh and Ramsingh Kirpalsingh were found going armed with sticks and a Kirpan. They were disarmed and the sticks and Kirpan seized by the police. The Kirpan was subsequently returned to Ramsingh Kirpalsingh on his undertaking not to carry it in a public street.

On the 8th May the police seized 15 sticks, seven knives and 2 iron bars at different places.

9th May 1929

On the 9th May the police seized 57 sticks and 6 knives at different places.

There were a few incidents of minor importance on this and succeeding days but by the 15th May the situation was practically normal as far as communal disturbances were concerned. The "Curfew" order was withdrawn on the evening of the 17th May. On the 15th May one of the military pickets was withdrawn and the withdrawal was continued gradually until the last of the pickets was withdrawn on the 18th. The withdrawal was carried out by slow stages owing to the state of high nervous tension produced by this second outbreak of communal disorder, and also because there was the likelihood of industrial disturbances owing to the general mill strike, and the decision of the millowners to withhold the pay of strikers on pay day, the 15th May.

The armed police from Poona (70) and the armed police from Kolaba (30) were sent back to the Districts on 24th May. The East Khandesh armed police (75) were sent back on the 30th and the Satara armed police (75) and the Dhulia police (50) were sent back on the 31st.

For several days the police continued to disarm persons who were found contravening the Commissioner's order regarding the carrying of sticks, knives, etc., and to arrest bad characters. The total number arrested during the period of disturbances was 682, consisting of 356 Muhammadans and 326 Hindus. They were, as in the disturbances in February, confined in three Development Department chawls at Worli, which were converted into a temporary prison in charge of the Jail Department.

APPENDIX A

List showing the disposition of the Military Pickets

1. Head Police Office.
2. Pydhoni Police Station.
3. Bhendi Bazaar.
4. Jacob's Circle.
5. Ghorapdeo.
6. Curry Road Bridge.
7. Nagpada.
8. Lalbaugh.
9. Chinchpokli.
10. Poibavdi.
11. Victoria Gardens.
12. Two Tanks.
13. Golpitha.
14. Junction of Sandhurst Road with Dongri Street.

APPENDIX B

Number of shops looted in Bombay during riots in May 1929

Serial No.	Muhammadan or Hindu shop	Locality	Date of looting	Amount of property alleged to have been looted	Remarks
				Rs. a. p.	
1	Muhammadan ..	Samuel Street ..	2nd May 1929 ..	1,398 0 0	
2	Do. ..	Mugbhat Lane ..	3rd May 1929 ..	165 4 0	
3	Do. ..	Mazagaon Road	Do. ..	54 6 0	
4	Do. ..	Ghorapdeo Road.	4th May 1929 ..	15 0 0	
5	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Not known.	The complainant could not give the estimate of loss at the time of his complaint. Afterwards he closed his shop and has not returned.
6	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do. ..	Do.	Do.

APPENDIX C

Cases of incendiarism reported to the Police during the riots in May 1929

Serial No.	Muhammadan or Hindu	Locality	Date	Amount of property damaged	Remarks
				Rs.	
1	Hindu ..	Ghorapdeo Road.	4th May 1929 ..	25	

APPENDIX D

List of persons who were found dead in the streets or who died in hospitals from the 23rd April 1929 up to 8 a.m. on the 23rd May 1929

Serial No.	Name	Caste	Age	Brought by Police	Date of death	Locality where injured
1	Laxman Sakharam ..	Hindu ..	30	Bhoiwada	24th April 1929 (K. E. M. Hospital).	Saparibaug Road.
2	Ahmed Ibrahim	Muhammadan ..	25	Do.	Do (do. ..	Do.
3	Mohammad Rafik Mohammad Shafik.	Do. ..	25	Do.	Do. do. ..	Do.
4	Bala Bapu	Hindu ..	30	Delisle Road	27th April 1929 (spot) ..	Near Delisle Road Police Station.
5	Masum Khan Sardar Khan ..	Muhammadan ..	50	Bhoiwada	28th April 1929 do. ..	Curry Road Bridge.
6	Nur Mohammad Mohr Ali ..	Do. ..	40	Do.	28th April 1929 (K. E. M. Hospital).	Do.
7	Harunum Shamsha ..	Do. ..	30	Delisle Road	30th April 1929. (K. E. M. Hospital).	Junction of Delisle Road and Curry Road Bridge.
8	Vasanji Khandoobhai Desai ..	Hindu ..	38	Nagpada	3rd May 1929 (spot) ..	J. J. Hospital Corner.
9	Chagan Harkisan	Do. ..	30	Maharbouri	Do. do. ..	Nawab Masjid.
10	Unknown	Muhammadan ..	27	Byculla	Do. do. ..	Bakre ka Edda.
11	Bhagia Jeewa	Hindu ..	22	Maharbouri	Do. do. ..	Improvement Trust Chawl near J. J. Hospital.
12	Siddik Abdulla	Muhammadan ..	33	Nagpada	3rd May 1929 (J. J. Hospital) ..	Kamathipura.
13	Babulal Gulabdas	Hindu ..	18	Princess Street ..	Do. do. ..	Ambadevi Tank Road.
14	Unknown	Muhammadan ..	25	Maharbouri	Do. (spot) ..	Kumharwada Durgadevi.
15	Abdulla Kassam	Do. ..	50	Byculla	3rd May 1929 (J. J. Hospital).	
16	Pandoo Genoo	Hindu ..	30	Dongri	4th May 1929 (G. T. Hospital).	Bhendi Bazar.
17	Abdul	Muhammadan ..	27	Byculla	Do. (spot) ..	Bakre ka Edda.
18	Balkrishna	Hindu ..	27	Do.	4th May 1929 (J. J. Hospital) ..	Dhakoo Prabhuswadi.

19	Unknown	Do. ..	30	Do.	Do. do. ..	Reay Road.
20	Do.	Muhammadan ..	25	Pydhoni	5th May 1929 (spot) ..	Mirchigalli, Mandvi.
21	Kassam Ahmed	Do. ..	28	Lamington Road ..	4th May 1929 (J. J. Hospital) ..	Thakurdwar Road.
22	Rama Pilaji	Hindu ..	85	Byculla	Do. do. ..	Babula Tank Road.
23	Unknown	Muhammadan ..	35	Maharbouri	5th May 1929 (spot) ..	3rd Kumbharwada Lane.
24	Govind Ramchandra ..	Hindu ..	23	Pydhoni	4th May 1929 (J. J. Hospital) ..	Pydhoni Road.
25	Unknown	Do. ..	50	Nagpada	Do. do. ..	Hujria Street.
26	Ahmed Aba	Muhammadan ..	30	Bhoiwada	6th May 1929 (K. E. M. Hospital).	Naigaum Bombay Development Department Chawls.
27	Mahadeo Rama	Hindu ..	40	Maharbouri	4th May 1929 (J. J. Hospital) ..	Grant Road.
28	Babu Alisab	Muhammadan ..	45	Byculla	5th May 1929 do. ..	Kalachowki Road.
29	Girja Tuka	Hindu ..	30	Maharbouri	6th May 1929 do. ..	Grant Road.
30	Vithal Hari	Do. ..	23	Nagpada	Do. do. ..	Victoria Gardens Road.
31	Dev Narayen	Do. ..	35	Dongri	7th May 1929 do. ..	Chuna Bhatti.
32	Abdul Karim Abdul Razak ..	Muhammadan ..	85	Delisle Road	10th May 1929 (K. E. M. Hospital).	Arthur Road Bridge.
33	Mohammad Bashir Nur Mohammad.	Do. ..	35	Agripada	13th May 1929 (J. J. Hospital)..	Near Byculla fire Brigade *N. B.*—His name may be deleted as medical evidence showed that he died of septic meningitis.
34	Ahmed Bachoo	Do ..	30	Bhoiwada	22nd May 1929 (K. E. M. Hospital).	Near Dinshaw Petit Mills.
35	Bala Sakharam	Hindu ..	18	Dongri	23rd May 1929 (J. J. Hospital)..	Bhendi Bazar.
	Total ..	18 Muhammadans. 17 Hindus.				

APPENDIX E

Total number of persons injured who were brought to the hospital from the 23rd April 1929 to 8 a.m. on the 15th May 1929

Hospitals	Date	Muhammadans	Hindus	Pathans	Total	Remarks
King Edward Memorial Hospital.	23rd April 1929 ..	6	7	..	13	
	24th April 1929 ..	1	..	..	1	
	27th April 1929 ..	14	4	..	18	
	28th April 1929 ..	5	..	..	5	
	30th April 1929 ..	2	1	..	3	
	1st May 1929 ..	1	..	..	1	
	2nd May 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	
	3rd May 1929 ..	7	14	1	22	
	4th May 1929 ..	..	2	..	2	
	5th May 1929 ..	11	4	..	15	
	6th May 1929 ..	..	1	..	1	
	7th May 1929 to 14th May 1929.	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	
J. J. Hospital ..	2nd May 1929 ..	..	2	..	2	
	3rd May 1929 ..	13	49	..	62	
	4th May 1929 ..	6	9	..	15	
	5th May 1929 ..	25	26	..	51	
	6th May 1929 ..	1	4	..	5	
	7th May 1929 to 10th May 1929.	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	
	11th May 1929 ..	..	2	..	2	
	12th May 1929 ..	2	1	..	3	
	13th May 1929 ..	1	..	..	1	
	14th May 1929 ..	..	..	..	..	
G. T. Hospital ..	2nd May 1929 ..	..	2	..	2	
	3rd May 1929 ..	2	2	..	4	
	4th May 1929 ..	3	..	..	3	
	5th May 1929 ..	..	1	..	1	
	6th May 1929 ..	..	2	..	2	
	7th May 1929 to 14th May 1929.	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	*Nil.*	
		100	133	1	234*	* Including 25 who died in hospitals.

APPENDIX F

Prohibition of kirpans

No. 706-Poll.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):
Bombay Castle, 6th May 1929.

NOTIFICATION

In exercise of the power conferred on the local Government by entry 1 in the table subjoined to Schedule II appended to the Indian Arms Rules, 1924, and in modification of clause (*g*) to item 2 of the table appended to Government Notification No. 1234-Poll., dated the 20th July 1925, the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that, for a period of one month from the date of this notification, kirpans of whatever length carried by Sikhs in the City of Bombay, shall be subject to the prohibition imposed by section 13 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. F. KNIGHT,

Secretary to Government,
Home Department.

No. 909-Poll.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL):
Bombay Castle, 3rd June 1929.

NOTIFICATION

The Governor in Council is pleased to cancel with effect from the 4th June 1929 Government Notification No. 706-Poll., dated the 6th May 1929, published at page 1018 of the *Bombay Government Gazette* Extraordinary dated the 6th May 1929, directing that for a period of one month from the date of the notification, kirpans of whatever length carried by Sikhs in the City of Bombay should be subject to the prohibition imposed by section 13 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878.

By order of the Governor in Council,

E. W. TROTMAN,

Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

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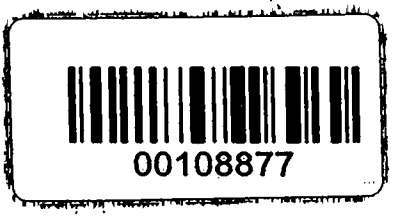
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